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THE RIME-VOWELS OF CURSOR MUNDI

A PHONOLOGICAL AND ETYMOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION

BY

OTTO STRANDBERG

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

UPPSALA 1919
ALMQVIST & WIKSELLS BOKTRYCKERI-A.-B.

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OTTO STRANDBERG

LIC. PHIL., VÄSTM.-D.

BY DUE PERMISSION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF UPPSALA TO BE PUBLICLY DISCUSSED IN ENGLISH IN LECTURE ROOM I ON MAY 26, 1919, AT 10 O'CLOCK A. M., FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UPPSALA 1919

ALMQVIST & WIKSELLS BOKTRYCKERI-A.-B.

Preface.

The idea of investigating the language in the Middle English poem Cursor Mundi was suggested to me by a remark of the late Professor BJÖRKMAN in one of his lectures dealing with this poem. He pointed out that this old and extensive literary product would be worth investigating, as there had been no comprehensive study of this work of late. In order to obtain definite ideas as to the original forms in the language of the anonymous author it was necessary to begin by a systematic study of the rimes, and especially the rime-vowels, from a phonological point of view and by getting as complete a collection as possible of the rime-material. The whole material is, for practical reasons, arranged in small groups according to the origin of the different rime-words, so as to enable the reader to survey the extensive collection. The arrangement is almost tabular, the rime-words being given alphabetically in each paragraph, thus facilitating the search for any special word.

I should like to state as a general principle that special investigations, limited as far as possible in their sphere and offering exhaustive materials, must precede works dealing with general subjects. In the latter class of works the literary documents are usually treated in a very summary manner and sometimes the investigator gives a wrong rendering of some passage owing to the absence of a specific investigation of the text in question. Such mistakes have been very frequent in the treatment of the language of Cursor Mundi and have been pointed out in the present work as often as I have detected them. In several cases they have contributed to produce incorrect results. Frequently, however, such works dealing with general questions are quite indispensable even for a study with a very limited scope, as they may illustrate a question in a more com-

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prehensive manner and, by comparison and combination, quite unexpected results may be attained, which would not have obtained a proper elucidation by internal inquiry alone.

To Docent ARVID GABRIELSON, my present teacher in English philology, I beg to take this opportunity of proffering my sincerest thanks for the kindly encouragement he has given me during the course of my English studies.

I am indebted above all to my former teacher, Professor ERIK BJÖRKMAN, whose tragic and untimely death a few days ago is still poignantly regretted by us all. His sympathetic kindness and keen interest in my English studies was of great assistance to me in carrying out my work. It is with a feeling of profound sadness that I realize the impossibility of tendering him, my real teacher, these thanks. As a scholar, teacher and man he has left a deep impression upon me and will for ever remain a brilliant example. The stimulus that emanated from his bright and many-sided personality, which was characterized above all by sound common sense, was invaluable. His memory will for ever remain a precious possession to his friends and pupils.

For assistance in the revision of the English in my treatise I am indebted to Mr HENRY ALEXANDER, lector in English at this University. Finally my thanks are due to all those friends of mine who have helped me in revising the proof-sheets of this thesis.

Uppsala, May 1919.

Otto Strandberg.

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Abbreviations.

Besides the abbreviations given above the following may also be mentioned:

a. = adopted from.
adj. = adjective.
adv. = adverb.
AN = Anglo-Norman.
ass. = assonance.
C = The Cotton MS. of Cursor Mundi.
comp. = comparative.
conj. = conjunction.
cons. = consonant.
Du = Dutch.
E = The Edinburgh MS. of Cursor Mundi.
E.E.Ps = The Early English Psalter. edited by Stevenson (Surtees Soc. Nos. 16, 19, London 1843, 1847).
Etym. Sect. = Etymological Section (at the end of the book).
f. (fem.) = feminine.
F = The Fairfax MS. of Cursor Mundi.
Flem. = Flemish.
fr. = from.
G. = German.
G = The Göttingen MS. of Cursor Mundi.
gen. = genitive.
Germ. = Germanic.
Icel = Icelandic.
inf. = infinitive.
interj. = interjection.
Lat. = Latin.
Li. = Lindisfarne Gospels.
m. (masc.) = masculine.
MDu = Middle Dutch.
ME = Middle English.
MHG = Middle High German.

MLG = Middle Low German.
MSw = Middle Swedish.
n. = neuter.
NE = New English.
Norw. = Norwegian.
num. = numeral.
OAngl. = Old Anglian.
OCFr = Old Central French.
ODan = Old Danish.
OE = Old English.
OFr = Old French.
OFris = Old Frisian.
OHG = Old High German.
OIcel. = Old Icelandic.
OMerc. = Old Mercian.
ONFr = Old Northern French.
ONorth. = Old Northumbrian.
ord. = ordinal.
OSc = Old Scandinavian.
OeSc = Old East Scandinavian.
OwSc = Old West Scandinavian.
pers. = person.
pl. = plural.
p. p. = past participle.
pr. = present (tense).
prep. = preposition.
Prim.OE = Primitive Old English.
pron. = pronoun.
pt. = preterite.
s. (sb.) = substantive.
Scand. = Scandinavian.
S.-E = South-East.
sing. = singular.
subj. = subjunctive.
sup. = superlative.
Sw. = Swedish.
T. = The Trinity MS. of Cursor Mundi.
Teut. = Teutonic.
v. = verb.
WGerm = West Germanic.
: = riming with.
~ = by the side of.

Phonetic Notation.

ǣ[1] denotes OE *ǣ* < WGerm *ai* + *i*-umlaut.
ǣ[2] denotes WS *ǣ*, OAngl *ē* < WGerm *ā*.
ẹ denotes a short, close *e* resembling an *i*-sound.
ọ denotes a short, close *o*.
ĕ, *ŏ*, etc. denote short vowels.
ē, *ō*, etc. denote long vowels.
ḕ, *ṓ*, denote long, close *e*, *o*.
ĕ̄, *ŏ̄*, denote long and short vowels.
â, *ê*, *ô*, denote *a*, *e*, *o* lengthened in open syllables.
é, *ó*, etc. denote vowels lengthened in OE before certain consonant groups and denote OSc long vowels.
χ denotes the sound *ch* (in Scotch *loch*).

Introduction.

The Cursor Mundi is the oldest and most voluminous literary monument of Northern England It was composed just before 1300 in a dialect which, according to MURRAY (see MURRAY, The Dialect of the southern counties of Scotland p. 30), was that of a district not far from Durham. Dr. HUPE (see EETS 101, p. 186), on the other hand, suggests the north of Lincolnshire. Any idea of a Lincolnshire dialect must, however, be dismissed, because the rimes of the North Lincolnshire writer Roberd Mannyng of Brunne do not agree at all with the rimes of the Cursor Mundi, which must represent a pure Northern dialect. The rimes of our poem often correspond with those of early Scottish writers, and the vocabulary has much in common with Scottish. Several words are recorded only in our poem and Scottish authors; see CURT BARTH: Der Wortschatz des Cursor Mundi, p. 19, where he says: «Wir dürfen daraus schliessen (from these words peculiar to Scottish), dass das Original des Cursor Mundi in nächster Nähe von Schottland, also etwa im Norden der Grafschaft Durham entstanden sein muss» and p. 50: «Murray ist durchaus im Rechte, wenn er den Cursor Mundi in Durham entstanden sein lässt. Wörter wie *siquar, ithen, sank* etc., denen wir sonst nur in den schottischen Denkmälern begegnen, weisen deutlich auf den äussersten Norden Englands hin.» In the course of the present investigation I have found further correspondences with Scottish (such as *lame* sb.[2], *eri* adj. etc.) and I should like to assume, like KALUZA, that the original was written in Scotland, if it were not for a passage (ll. 232—236) that seems to speak against this: «Þis ilk bok it es translate In to Inglis tong to rede For the loue of Inglis lede, *Inglis lede of Ingland*», e. g.

this book is translated for the English in England»; see BARTH p. 10. But since Barth wants to place the poem as near as possible to the Scottish border, why not in the county of Northumberland, which lies between Scotland and Durham? In order to settle the question as to the original home of the poem it would be necessary to investigate the rimes of the earliest Scottish writers and compare these with the results derived from an examination of the rimes in Cursor Mundi.

The present rime-investigation comprises ll. 1—24968, as, in the opinion of Dr. HUPE Introduction V. 219, the poem probably ends there. The following rime-lists are based on MSS. CEFG, critically compared with each other, and are founded on the text-variants best suiting the rimes; they claim to offer a complete rime-material. In some cases the text has been compared with its sources (The Vulgate, etc.), and this has sometimes made it possible to ascertain the original form used by the author when it has been corrupted by later scribes. I have only occasionally discussed some interesting scribal errors in the MSS. and especially in MS. C, as these questions do not really come within the scope of this investigation. The forms and spellings given are chiefly those of MS. C, and MSS. CE from line 18989. Peculiarities and mistakes in MS. C are specially pointed out and the more correct forms given in addition or substituted. In a few cases textual emendations had to be made.

The rimes of the Cursor Mundi have been dealt with before by Dr. HUPE, but his examination of them dates from 1889 and scarcely satisfies the demands of modern scholarship. I do not enter here upon any criticism of his inquiry, as this would be too extensive a task. Apart from this there exist only two small investigations dealing with the language of Cursor Mundi: CURT BARTH, Der Wortschatz des Cursor Mundi and WILLY HÖRNING, Die Schreibung der Hs. E des Cursor Mundi.

The etymologies given within square brackets generally originate from NED, except for the letters S—Z, for which the Century Dictionary has been chiefly consulted. In a few cases I have ventured to propose new etymologies, which are collected and discussed in a special Etymological Section at the end of the book.

When the rimes enable us to draw any conclusions as to the pronunciation of a vowel these conclusions are placed, for practical reasons, immediately below the rime-group concerned; only in a few cases have the results been summarized. In many cases it has been expressly pointed out that the rimes can very well be explained in more than one way.

All the rimes that are probably incorrect are printed in small type as Notes. On account of the comparatively small number of incorrect rimes, we must state that the author of Cursor Mundi was a fairly good rimer. It is noteworthy that in some cases, e. g. *dęl* sb. and *dęl* v., *ręd* = 'read, tell' and *ręd* = 'advice' he makes strikingly regular distinctions. Sometimes, especially in the cases of words containing some variety of *o*-sound, emergency rimes occur, owing to the scarcity of quite suitable and correct rime-words in his native dialect.

The arrangement adopted, which is designed to avoid the necessity of giving each rime more than once and to afford a comprehensive view of the words riming with the different vowels, is also intended to make up for the absence of a rime-index.

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Rime-Lists and Phonology of the Rime-Vowels.

a.

§ 1. OAngl. *a* + *l* + cons. (not *ld* as a vowel-lengthening group) riming with itself.

all : *fall* inf. pr.; sb. 537, 2907, 4072, 4520, 4977, 5109, 6231, 9444, 9781, 10899, 11362, 11450, 12994, 14587, 17523, 21940, 22480, 22534, 22701, 22798, 23439, 23527, 24411, 24520.
: *don-fall* s. 279.
: *on-fall* s. 5944, 6000.
: *wit-al(l)* adv. 5405, 9923.
ouer-all : *wit-all* 4008.
wit-all adv. : *fall* inf. 4655, 9048, 14498, 19591.
: *mis-fall* inf. 7820.
: *gall* s. 18019.
gall s. : *all* 101.
hall : *all* 440, 5891, 17583, 17640, 23576.
: *wit-all* 13141, 18810, 18920.
hals : *als* adv. 3678.
stall s. : *all* 395, 8582, 17863, 22093.
: *wit-all* 24625.
: *fall* inf. 1699, 22404.
wall s. : *all* 9997.
: *fall* inf. 3231, 22542.
grundwal(a) : *all* 9989, 20863.

§ 2. OAngl. *a* + *l* + cons. : OE *æ*.

all : *pall* s. [OE *pæll* beside *pell*] 5147.
al(l) : *smal(l)* adj. [OE *smæl*] 971, 9396, 22904.
: *stal(l)* pt. [OE *stæl*] 8635, 19228.

wit-al(l) : *small* 18177, 18830.
half : *calf* [OAngl. *cælf*] 6632.

The preterite *stal* is also and more often found with *â;* see § 118.

§ 3. OAngl. *a* + *l* + cons.: OE *ea*.
all : *sal(l)* pr. [OE *sceal, scæl*] 458, 2034, 4797, 8100, 11250, 11766, 14519, 18660, 19112, 22970, 23016, 23562, 23616.
wit-all : *sall* pr. 2647, 6373, 21451.
hall s. : *sall* pr. 3815.
stall s. : *sall* pr. 11255.
grundwall s. : *sall* pr. 8424, 13335.

§ 4. OAngl. *a* + *l* + cons.: OSc *a*.
al(l) : *call* inf. pr. [OSc *kalla*] 267, 3021, 3851, 6219, 8349, 9610, 9741, 10729, 10767, 11082, 11461, 12151, 12682, 13132, 13215, 13364, 13707, 14801, 17389, 17927, 19024, 19160, F 19171, 19793, 22350, 22649, 24162, 24863.
: *scall* s. [According to NED from OSc *skalle* = bald head, but BJÖRKM. Loanw. p. 122 says «not from O. Scand *skalle*», p. 121 «most likely from O. Scand. *skal* = shell»] 11819.
ouer-all : *call* 10356.
(*þar*)*wit-all* : *ball* [OSc *bǫllr*] 22942.
: *call* 1118, 3316, 3492, 5703, 11167, 14625.
fall : *fis-bal* (= fuzzball) 2879.
: *call* 103, 5782, 9318, 9848.
falles pr. : *calles* 20806.

§ 5. OAngl. *a* + *l* + cons.: OFr *a*.
als [OAngl. *all swa*] : *fals* adj. 6581, 8989, 10104, 11808, 12154, 14378, 21657, 23112.

§ 6. OAngl. *a* + *l* + cons.: OSc *á* shortened before group of consonants.
all : *thrall* [OSc *þrǽll*] 2056, 5506, 9479.
wit-al(l) : *thrall* 20018.

§ 7. The word *sualm* s. in MSS C and G: *palm* [OE *palm(a)*].
For the origin and signification of the noun *sualm* see Etym. Sect.

§ 8. OE *a* before nasals (except *-nd* and *-ng*) riming with itself:
ban inf. [OE *bannan*] : *began* pt. 13631, 19458.
: *þan* adv. 12049.
dranc pt. : *ranc* adj. 21024.
: *swank* pt. 11414.
man s. [OE *man*] : *began* pt. 225, 360, 835, 1453, 1491, 1731, 5342, 6023, 6121, 7043, 9001, 9174, 13594, 18740, 19430, 21852, 22894, 24272, C has : *be gan* 276 and *bi gan* 1784.
: *blan* pt. [OE *blann* pt. of *blinnan*] 744.
: *can* pr. 239, 4647, 20016, 20227, 20295, 22911, 23869.
: *þan* 423, 513, 849, 1325, 1438, 1556, 1601, 1995, 2545, 2805, 4523, 4737, 7211, 7331, 7476, 7870, 9293, 9797, 9803, 9870, 10566, 10793, 10878, 11313, 11338, 11619, 11655, 12180, 13096, FGT 13528, 13576, 13862, 13914, 14237, 14572, 14685, 14792, 17763, 18201, 18464, 18791, 18828, 18893, 19055, 19449, 20571, 20751, 21562, 21892, 22516, 22926, 23394.
: *wan* pt. [OE *wann* pt. of *winnan*] 2779, 4099, 7793, 13255, 17469, 20004.
freman [OE *frēoman*] : *bigan* 2134.
lemman [OE *lēofman*] : *man* 17120, 17165.
pann [OE *panne*] : *þan* 21146.
schank s. [OE *scanca*] : *thank* inf. 14064.
stanc pt. : *dranc* pt. 5926, 6354.
suam pt. : *ram* s. [OE *ramm*] 1785.
þan : *began* 270, 1635, 1799, 2014, 2240, 5332, 5815, 6151, 6590, 8876, 13115, 17512, 18936, 19261, 19952, 22192, 22734.
: *can* pr. 4558, 18138.
wan pt. : *began* 1049, 20946.
: *þan* 10601, 23995. FGT *wan* : *þan* 8418.

wlanc adj. [OE *wlanc*] : *thank* inf. [OE *þancian*] 6397.
womman s. : *man* 9028.
: *þan* 8680.

§ 9. OE *a* + nasals : OSc *a*.
man s. : *ran* pt. [OSc *rann* of *rinna*] 3555, 14038, 14284, 19500, 21619.
þan : *ran* pt. 12348.
: *ran* pt. *man, wan* pt. 15760.
thank : *sank* inf. [OSc *sanka* beside *samka*] 13841.
wan pt. : *ran* pt. 21564.
wlanc adj. : *hanc* inf. [prob. from OSc *hǫnk*], *sanck* [OSc *sanka*], *rank* adj. 16046.

10. OE *a* + nasals : OFr, Lat. *a*.
began pt. : *Cainan* 2160.
: *þan, fan* [OE *fann* s.], *bran* s. [OFr *bran*], *Sathan* 15526.
man s. : *Abraham* (assonance.) 2755.
: *Adam* » 9783.
: *Baraban, þan, can, began* pt. 16388.
: *Chanaan* 4821.
: *Faran* FGT *Pharan* 3082.
: *Iohan* 20316, C 20364, 20378.
: *Laban* 3324.
kynnes-man : *Madian* 6434.
kinesman : *Iohan* 20068.
C *yongman* GT *yong man* : *Drucian* 21053.
C » F *ȝongeman* GT *yong man* : *Egypcian* 5698.
þan(ne) : *Anne* 153.
: *Chanaan* 4805.
: *Ioathan* 9171.
: *Ieconiam* (ass.) 9197.
: *Iohan* 20345.
: *Laban* 3892.
: *Nathan* 7912, 7956.
wan pt. : *Sathan* 746, 22058.
womman : *Iohan* 11063.

These proper names have their final syllables unstressed.

§ 11. Short or long vowel-quantity can be assumed in:
gamen [OE *gamen, gam(e)nes*] : *samen* [OE *saman, samne*] 3026, 3370, 3446, 6021, 6502, 7410, GT 10563, 11932, 12553, 18085, 22751, 24139.

§ 12. OE *(e)a* + *r* + cons. (except the lengthening consonant groups *-rd* and *-rn*) riming with itself.
arm s. [OE *(e)arm*] : *barm* s. [OE *b(e)arm*] 5442.
: *harm* s. [OE *h(e)arm*] 3183, 11778, 24189
barm s. : *harm* s. 24502.
harp s. [OE *hearpe*] : *scarp* adj. [OE *sc(e)arp*] 7665.
warm inf. [OE *w(e)armian*] : *harm* s. 23090.

§ 13. OE *(e)a* + *r* + cons. : OE *æ*.
sparr inf. [OE *ȝesparrian*] : *warr* adj. [OE *wær*] 2787.

§ 14. OE *æ* + *r* + cons. : OE *æ*.
efter-char s. [OE *efter* + ONorth. **cærr* beside *cerr* s. (= turn) < Germ. **karriz* or **karziz*] = return : CEF *bewarr* G *bewar* inf. [< *be* inf. + OE *wær* adj.] 21921.

The ONorth. form **cærr* is shown by the corresponding verb *cærra* [< Germ. **karrian* or **karzian*], recorded in Li. In ONorth. WGerm. *a* could be retained before *r* + cons., and this *a* became *æ* by i-umlaut; see BÜLBR. § 176 and LUICK § 188,1.

§ 15. OE *æ* + *ht* riming with itself.
naght s. [OAngl. *næht*] : *faght* pt. 3448.
slaght s. [OE. *slæht*] : *maght* s. [OAngl. *mæht*] 22680.

§ 16. The sb. *draght* [from OE *draȝan* inf.] : *maght* 21266.

§ 17. Shortened OE *ā* and *ǣ* before *-ht* : OE *a* and *æ* + *ht*.
aght pt. [OE *āhte*] : *aght* num. [OE *ahta, æhta*] 6728.
: *maght* s. 6720.
laght pt. [OE *lǣhte*] : *maght* s. 17396.
: *naght* s. 3932.
raght pt. [OE *rǣhte, rāhte*] : *todraght* s. [from OE *draȝan*] 5962.

taght pt. [OE *tǣhte, tāhte*] : *aght* num. 3395.
bitaght pt. : *aght* num. 4363, 19066.

The form *aght* of the numeral *eight* is peculiar to Northern dialects; compare the Midland form represented in Orrm's *ehhte*.

§ 18. Shortened OE *ā* or *ǣ* + *ht* riming with itself.
aght s. [OE *ǣht*] : *laght* pt. 5380, 6765, 7927, 19037.
laght pt. : *bitaght* pt. 10777, 10823, 14810, 17770, 17891, 18224, 18380, 23992 : *betaght, maght, taght* 16320.
raght pt. : *bitaght* 3682.
taght pt. : *laght* pt. 13179, 21031, 21791.

§ 19. OE *æ* or shortened OE *ā* or *ǣ* + *ht* : OSc *a* + *ht*.
maght s. : *saght* adj. [OSc **sahtr* > *sáttr*] 7654.
naght s. : *saght* adj. 4073.
taght, saght s. [OSc. **saht* > *sátt*], *laght* pt. 15000.
bitaght pt. : *saght* s. [OSc **saht* > *sátt*] 5122.
: *saght* adj. 3540.

§ 20. OE *a, æ,* (*e*)*a* riming with itself.
(*h*)*as*(*s*) [OE *assa*] : *was* pt. 1073, 11272, 11646, C *a nass* : *was* 3151.
badd pt. [OE *bæd* of *biddan*] : *glad*(*d*) adj. 3200, 6112, 20421, 20441, 23074.
: *gladd* inf. [from the adj.] 18654.
bras s. [OE *bræs*] : *was* 4291, 21315.
brast st. [by metathesis of OE *bærst* through the influence of OSc *brast*] : *fast* adj. 1765, 7170, 13201.
: *stedfast* 11704, 21400.
craft s. : *scaft* s. [OE *sceaft*] 426, 511, 740, 21766.
fast inf. [OE *fæstan*] : *fast* adj. 17345.
glas s. : *was* pt. 10093.
(*atte*)*last* sup. [ONorth. *læteste* > *latste*] : *fast* adj. 20746, 22059
: *stedfast* 1023.
obaft [OE *beæftan*] : *craft* s. 22150, 22829.
quat pron. [OE *hwæt*] : *þat* pron. 18132.

maniquat : *þat* 18048.
sad adj. [OE *sæd*] : *glad* adj. 1407.

§ 21. Shortened OE *ā, ǣ* : OE *a, æ,* (*e*)*a*.
EFGT *cladd* pt., p. p. [< *clādde*] : *badd* pt. [OE *bæd*] 20183, 20215, 20312, 20589.
gast s. [OE *gǣst* beside *gāst*] : *fast* p. p. [of OE *fæstan*] 169.
agast p. p. [fr. *a* + OE *gǣstan*] : *fast* adj. 8224, 14281.
: (*atte*) *last* 4971.
last inf. [OE *læstan*] : *brast* pt. 1538.
: *fast* adj. 17124.
: *stedfast* 282, 7574.
mast sup. [OE *mǣst* beside *māst*] : (*atte*) *last* 22259.
ouer-mast sup. : (*at þe*) *last* 22231.

§ 22. OE *a, æ,* (*e*)*a,* shortened OE *ā* or *ǣ* : OSc *a*.
badd adj. [according to ZUPITZA the ME repr. of OE *bæddel*] : *stadd* [OSc. *staddr*] 1801.
badd pt. : *stadd* p. p. 1749, 3982, 7119, 14348, 18669.
C *forbaad* pt. : C *staad* p. p. 674.
brast pt. : *kast* inf. [OSc *kasta*] 1088.
clad p. p. : *stad* p. p. 1045.
drad p. p. [< *drǣdde*] : *stadd* p. p. 3470.
fast adj. : *cast* inf. 22539.
for-fast p. p. = exhausted with fasting : *cast* inf. 12941.
agast p. p. : *cast* inf. 13073 : *cast* p. p. 18200.
gladd adj. *stadd* p. p. 10459, 18249, 22572, C *glaid* (*i* from *laid* in the line above) : *stadd* 18110.
last sup. : *cast* inf. 7860, 9475.
: *last* s. 22832.
last inf. [OE *læstan*] : *fast* s. [prob. a. OSc *fasta*] 12765.
mad adj. [OE *ȝemǣd*(*e*)*d*] : *stadd* p. p. 2800.
sad adj. : *stadd* p. p. 1270.
sall pr. [OE *sceal*) : *call* inf., pr. 5942, 6789, 9822, 14185 : *fall, all, call* 15322.
schap s. [OE *ȝesceap*] : *hap* s. [OE *happ*] 733.
stedfast : *cast* inf. 2873.
The form *drad* p. p. instead of the more common *dred* (see

§ 48) is interesting, as it proves the existense of an ONorth *drǣdan*. The infinitive *dred* in C. M. is, as a matter of fact, found riming with *ę*; see § 171.

§ 23. Shortened OSc *ā*, *ǣ* : *a*.
blast s. [OSc *blástr*] : *brast* pt. 18917, 24847.
: *fast* adj. 18075.
radd adj. [OSc *hrǽddr*] : *badd* pt. 18053, C *raadd* : *badd* 1291.
: *madd* adj. 10309, 10958, 11724, 19633.
: *stadd* 17680, 18213 : *stadd, sadd* adj., *bad* pt. 16810.
thrall s. [OSc *þrǽll*] : *call* 5718.
: *sal* pr. 9748.
: *small* adj. *all, gall, sall* pr. 16946.

blast is undoubtedly of Scand. origin and does not represent an OE *blǣst* [*ǣ* < Germ. *ā*], which would give *blest* in this dialect, and such a form is not established by any rime; see Björkm. Loanw. p. 84, note 2.

§ 24. OSc *a* riming with itself.
last s. [OSc *lǫstr*] : *cast* pr. subj. 13734 : *cast* p. p. 24702.
pap s. (app. from Scandinavian) : *hap* s. 3018.

§ 25. OE *a, æ,* OSc *a* : OFr *a*.
ask inf. : *Damask* 19611.
: *task* [OFr *tasque*] 5872, 12210, 14454.
brass s. : *pas* inf. [OFr *passer*] 5904.
cast inf. : *past* p. p. 6206, 14770.
(*atte*) *last* sup. : *past* p. p. 229, 7838, 17953, 22061.
quath pt. [OE *cwæþ*] : *Iosaphat* (ass.) 22974.
stedfast : *ouer-past* pt. 12708.
warr adj. [OE *wær*] : *forbarr* inf. [OFr *barrer*] 8214.
: *Ysacar* 10233.
was pt. : *pass* inf. 12375, 13731, 20986.

The verb *pas*(*s*) in the above-mentioned instances has the meaning of «to pass» and, as the rimes show, it contains a short *a*. As a noun with the meaning of «passage» and «pace» the *a* is long; cfr § 116. This difference in the vowel-quantity of the

noun and the verb is to be connected with the French stress, which in most forms of the verb lies on the ending, whereas the *a* of the noun is always stressed.

§ 26. Shortened OE *æ* : OFr *a*.
last inf [OE *læsten*] : *past* p. p. 12125.

§ 27. OFr *a* riming with itself.
art : *part* 295, 8711, 11893, 14664, 14841, 22158.
artes : C *parteis* pl. 21746.
gab s. [OFr *gab*, v. *gabber*, OSc *gabb*] : *Aminadab* 7854.
marche s. : *targe* [OFr *targe*] (ass.) 9971.
part s. : *Parth* (Parthia) 21126.

§ 28. Celtic *a* in rime:
crag [according to NED app. af Celtic origin] : *hag* s. [OSc **haggw-* > *hǫgg*] 9886.

§ 29. Both short and long *a* are possible in:
hater s. [OE *hæteru*] : *water* s. 20211.

a(*u*).

§ 30. AN *au* + *n* + cons. = OCFr *a* + *n* + cons. riming with itself:
aunt E *ant* : *grant* 24675.
chance : *chevisanse* 6978.
: *coverance* 9769, 23722.
: *France* 245, 22254.
: *honurance* 8895.
: *penance* 1448, C *chaunce* : *penance* 17568.
: *purueance* 5576.
chaunce : *restaurance* 6771.
chance : *wengance* 7278, G *anikins chanse* : *wengance* 1942 C *nakin schaunce* with the final *s* erroneously added to the following *chaunce*.
France : *mustrance* 21795.
: *vengeance* 13185.
meschance : *penance* 1181.
penance : *repentance* 9088.

e.

§ 31. OE *e*, OAngl. *e* (due to Ebnung), riming with itself.

bed s. : *wedd* s. [OE *wedd*] 6801.
: *wed* inf. [OE *weddian*] 3889 : *wed* p. p. 3871.

bell s. [OE *belle*] : *tell* inf. 12194.

best sup. [OE *bet(e)st*] : *rest* s. 1007, 2455, 3761, 3775, 8318, 23594, 24169, 24213 : *rest* inf. 11662, 11738, 24553.

clerk s. [OE *cler(i)c* + OFr *clerc*] : *merk* s. [OAngl. *merc(e)*] 1177.
: *werk* s. [OAngl. *werc*] 1921, 8696, 23909.
: *handwerk* [OAngl. *hand3ewerc*] 18634.

delue(n) inf. [OE *delfan*] : *seluen* pron. 5430, 8000 : *himselue* 4675 : CE *himseluen* 21063.

den s. : *ken* inf. [OE *cennan*] 24424.
: *chapmen* pl. 4185.

duell inf. pr. : *hell* s. 1411, 2075, 2864, 14880, 18999, 22035.
: *spell* inf. 4344, 12753, 24825.
: *tell* inf. pr. 2222, 6372, 6814, 9122, 14085, 23005.

elles adv. [OE *elles*] : *duelles* pr. 23613 : C *duells* 1964.
: *smelles* s. pl. 1013.
: EFG *spelles* s. pl. [OE *spell*] 23820.
: *spelles* pr. 12951, 22989.
: *telles* pr. 13470.

fell s. [OE *fell*] : *spell s.* 19962, 20936.
: *tell* inf. 583, 23603.

fell inf. [OE *fellan*] : *duell* s. [from the verb] 7536.
: *spell* s. 21988.
: *tell* inf. 8771, 12396.

godspelles gen. : *telles* pr. 21864.

hell s. : *quell* inf. 22959, 24292.
: *spell* inf. 17980.
: *tell* inf. pr. 199, 13094, 13198, 14436, 14708, 17857, 18150, 20568, 23147, 23486.

ken(n) inf. : *men(n)* pl. 107, 2292, 2665, 2694, 5784, 6484, 6570, 7364, 12098, 12189, 12370, 13325, 19177, 21558, 23115.

len(g)th s. : *stren(g)th* 5805, 8244, 8811.

lett inf. [OE *lettan*] : *sett* inf. [OE *settan*] 10681.
lett s. [from the inf.] : *met* s. [OE *ʒemet*] 8813.
: *sett* p. p. [from OE *settan*] 8124.
merk [OAngl. *merc(e)*] : *werk* 8779.
mett s. [ONorth *mett*] = food : *sett* pt., p. p. [from OE *settan*] 3497, 4471, 7254, 13993.
: *umsett* pt. 9212.
mett [OE *ʒemet*] : *set* inf. [OE *settan*] 4610.
nest inf. [from *nest* s. < OE *nest*] : *rest* inf. 22556.
pell s. [OE *pell* beside *pæll* > ME *pall* recorded in § 2] : *tell* 11515.
quell inf. [OE *cwellan*] : *tell* 10037, 11917.
quen conj. [OE *hwenne*] : *men* pl. 14262, 20181 C *wen* : *men* 5939.
nute-scell [OAngl. *scell*] : *hell* s. 23828.
self : *þi-self* 23526.
selue : *tuelue* num. [OE *twelf, twelfe*] 173, 6884, 11985, 20424.
sell inf. : *tell* inf. 4835.
serk [OAngl. *serc* + OSc *serkr*] : *werk* s. 21527.
spell s. : *duell* s. 12992.
: *tell* inf. 858.
spell inf., pr. : *tell* inf., pr. 95, 250, 1002, 8519, 12689, 14693, 18877, 19188, 19695, 23826.
tell : *smel(l)* s. 1311, 21571, 21775.
: *smell* inf. 23456.
tuelue num. : *himselue* 6883, 14550, EFGT 19282, FGT 21177, 21698 : *hamselue* 6968.
well s. : *duell* inf. 3072.
: *spell* inf. 2618, 13437.
: *tell* 9935, 12468, 13791, 23432.
well inf. [OAngl. *wellan*] : *dwell* 23167.
werc s. : *merc* s. 131.
buxumnes : *suetnes* 9570.
sothfastnes : *reuthnes* 9680.
: *rightwisnes* 9546.
wrangwisnes : *irinnes* 7544.

The noun *mett* (= food) can also be explained from OE *mete* s. according to § 300.

§ 32. OE *eo* riming with OAngl. *e(o)* and with itself.
ferr adv. [OE *feorr*] : *merr* inf. [OAngl. *merran*] 2253.
hert s. [OE *heorte*] : *smert* adj. 57, 3033, 5535, 6059, 24007 : adv. 24331.
stert inf., pt. [OE **steortian*] : *hert* s. [OE *heorte*] 17499, 19453.
: *smert* adj. 7168.
a-stert inf. : *hert* s. 14299.

The adj. and adv. *smert* cannot phonetically be derived from the OE adj. *smeart,* but the groundform may have been an unrecorded OAngl. **sme(o)rt(e),* or else this form *smert* may have been influenced by the verb *smeortan.*

§ 33. OE *eó* by shifting of stress > *éo* : OE *éo.*
scort adj. [ONorth *sceort* see LUICK Hist. Gram. § 254] : *hert* s. [OE *heort*] 8347.

If the rime is correct, it would be better to assume a rime *shert* : *hert* than *short* : *hort,* as *hert* is established by a great many rimes, whereas *short* only occurs here. Cfr. CORNELIUS p. 194.

§ 34. OE *e, eo* : OSc *e.*
best sup. : *fest* p. p. [of the inf. *festan* partly due to the Scandinavian *festa*] 5288, 24631.
duell inf. : *emell* [OeSc *imellum*] 1807, 2215, 12102.
duell s. (from the verb) : *fell* s. [OwSc *fell*] 2831.
elles adv. : *felles* s. pl. 17556, C *els* : *fells* 8821.
elleuen [OE *elleofan*] : *neuen* [OSc *nefna*] 4119, 5377.
euen adv. [OE *efne, efen*] : *neuen* inf. [OSc *nefna*], *heuen* s., *steuen* s. 15054.
ferr adv. : *sperr* inf. [OSc *sperra*] 8796.
hell s. : *emell* 1446, 23932.
hem s. [OE *hemm*] : *stem* [OSc *stemma*] 21136.
hert s. [OE *heor(o)t*] : *unquert* s. [app. from OSc **kwert*; see further NED] 1787.
hert s. [OE *heorte*] : *quert* s. 1804, 21353, 24246.
: *quert* s. *smert, gert* pt. [of OSc *gera*] 15174.
: *unquert* s. 5722, 23447.
: *ouerthuert* adv. [OSc. *þwert*] 7926, 10464, 11370, 12084, 24381.

heuen [OE. *heofon*] : *euen* s. [OSc *efni*] 335, 21397, 22947.
: *heuen* inf. [OSc. *hefna*] 24784.
: *neuen* inf. [OSc *nefna*] 303, 411, 2327, 2346, 2744, 9367, 9424, 12711, 14917, 17548, 18808, 18864, 20949, 22169, 22591, 23355, 23544.
mere s. [from the verb *merran*] : *werr* comp. [OSc *verri*] 67.
neckes pl. [OE *hnecka*] : *seckes* [OSc *sekkr*] 5081.
quell inf. : [OwSc *fell*] 7698.
rest s. : *brest* inf. [OSc *bresta*] 23948, 24393.
: *gest* s. [OSc *gestr*] 23091.
rest inf. : *brest* s. [OSc *brestr*] 6308.
: *brest* inf. 9271, 10723.
: *gest* s. 9873, 14086,
seuen num. [OE *seofon*] : *heuen* inf. 11801.
: *neuen* inf. 1487, 1553, 2182, 5684, 7367, 8885, 10819, 19387, 23477.
seuend ord. [OE *seofunda*] : *neuend* pt. 22546.
spell : *emell* 13883.
stert pt. [OE **steortian*] : *ouerthuert* [OSc *þwert*] 7103.
steuen s. [OE *stefn*] : *euen* s. [OSc *efni*] 24220.
sueuen s. [OE *swefen*] : *neuen* inf. 4055.
tell inf. pr. : *emell* 4088, 11052.
: *fell s.* 2913, 3096, 3148, 3162, 6529, 13459, 23424.
terr s. [OE oblique cases *terwe-*] : *werr* comp. [OSc. *verri*] 11900.
wem inf. [OE *wemman*] : *stem* s. [from OSc *stemma,* see Notes to C. M. by RICH. MORRIS] = hindrance, difficulty 11225.
west s. : *fest* inf. [partly due to OSc *festa*] 23385 : pt. 21013.
wilderness : *gress* s. [OSc (Sw *gräs,* Da. *græs*)] 11109.

§ 35. OSc *e* in self-rime:
C *brestes* pr. : C *brestes* s. pl. 10059.
§ 36. OE *e*, *eo* OSc *e* : OFr, Lat. *e*.
better comp. : *letter* [OFr *lettre*] 18975, 22984.
duell : *fell* adj. [OFr *fel*].
emell : *Abell* 1053.

:*fell* adj. 13589, 13826.
ferr adv. [OE *feorr*] : *werre* s. [OFr *werre*, *guerre*] 7071.
hell s. : *Abell* 1347.
: *Israel* 3950.
: *mell* inf. [OFr *meller*] 22641.
ken inf. : *Moysen* 5906, 6062, 6482, 6641, 6861.
lett s. [from the verb *lettan*] : *dett* s. [OFr *dette*] 14047, 18734.
men pl. : *Eden* 1499.
: *Iessen* 5420, 5963.
: *Moysen* 6927.
quell inf. [OE *cwellan*] : *fell* adj. 22047, 22401.
set(*t*)(*e*) p. p. [of *settan*] : *dett* s. 6469, 23885.
= placed (to perform a certain duty) : *Maumet* 11753.
snell adj. [OE *snell*] : *Israel* 7754.
: *fell* adj. 23997.
spell s. : *fell* adj. 22434.
step s. [OE *steppe*, *stepe* influenced by the verb *steppan*] : *Ioseph* 9248, 17704.
GT *step* inf. [OE *steppan*] : *Ioseph* 10763.
tell inf. pr. : *Abell* 1093.
: *Gamaliel* 17813.
: *fell* adj. 5538, 9029, 9678, 13926, 18574.
: *Ysmael* 2638, 3386.
: *Israel* 12012.
: *Malaliel* 1461.
: *Rachell* 3856.
: *rebell* s. 6906.
: *Samuel* 7359.
: *fell* adj., *tell*, *snell* 14950.
well s. : *Rachell* 3832.
wem s. [from the OE verb *wemman*] : *Ierusalem* 19721, 23988.
gastliness : *Moyses* 6450.
wilderness : *Moyses* 6314, 6913, 21685.

The rimes show that the above monosyllabic Romance loanwords have short *e*. Many of the polysyllabic ones are recorded with *ē* in final stressed syllables; see under *-ē*.

§ 37. OFr., Lat. *e* riming with itself.

apert adj. [OFr *apert*] : *desert* 5839, 6533.
assent s. : *tent* s. [OFr *attent*] 19513.
camell s. : *catell* 6002.
castel : *postel, panel, cendel* 14978.
comandment : *couent* s. 24950.
: (*a*)*mendment* 23742.
: *tent* s. [OFr *attent*] 13319, C *commament* : *tent* 661.
confermement : *sacrament* 19560.
consent s. : *present* adj. 4956.
damisel : *Rachell* 3838.
dett s. : *entermett* inf. [OFr *entremettre*] 8760.
entent s. : C *commament* FG *commandment* 3227.
: *iugement* 13715, 22985.
: *tabulment* 1677.
: *testament* 119.
FGT *ententes* pl. C *entens* : *elementes* pl. C *elements* 364.
Euphrates : *Ganges* 1038.
fel. adj. [OFr *fel*] : *Abell* 1123.
: *Israel* 21683.
gent [OFr. *gent*] : *piment* 9355.
Ierusalem : *Bedleem* 10750.
: *Salem* 2145.
Israel : *Othomel* 7001.
: *Samuel* 7284.
iugement : *assent* 9710, 9713.
: *commament* 1751.
kirnel [ONFr *kernel*] : *castel* 10016.
C *Mamael* F *Mainael,* GT *Malaliel* : *Matussael* 1510.
Marcel : *Peronel* 21188.
Nazareth : *Elizabeth* 11117.
Philistiens : *paens* s. [OFr *paien*] 7440.
postel [OFr *posterl, potell*] : *Samuel* 7676.
quarel [OFr *querele*] : *castell* 10035.
present : *iugement* 6775.
Salatiel : *Zorobabel* 9236.
Sedech : *Melchisedech* 2142.
Seth : *Iareth* 1464.
talent : *entent* 5258.

tent s. [OFr *attent*] : *parlement* 5497.
: *pulment* [Lat. *pulmentum*] 3532.
tent inf. [form the sb.] : *comandment* 4652.
: *testament* 21717.
uessell : *funnell* 3306.
vestement : *piement* [OFr *piument, piment*] 3702.

In many of these cases *ē* in final stressed syllables is possible.

§ 38. *e* before *st* (from earlier *a* < OE *æ* OSc *a*) riming with OE *e*, OSc *e*, OFr *e*.

brest pt. subj. [OE *bærst* + OSc *brast*] : *rest* s. 1908.
fest adj. : *rest* s. 3405, 4282.
kest pt. [of *casten* inf. < OSc *kasta*] : *brest* inf. [OSc *bresta*] 6615.
: *fest* inf. 4265 : *fest* pt. 5726, p. p. 19157, 20962.
: *frest* s. [OSc *frest*] 19226 : *frest* s. *brest* inf. *rest, best* sup. 15952.
: *rest* s. inf. 1079, 9403.
at þe lest (= at last) : *gest* s. [OFr *geste*] 207.

This modification of *a* to an *e*-sound is mentioned by MORSB. p. 119 and is considered by him a sort of *s*-umlaut. In the adj. *fest e* may be due to the influence of the verb *festan*. The existence of the form *kest* is proved by these rimes in the preterite alone. The infinitive and past participle are always represented by forms with *a* (see §§ 20, 21), at least in the rimes. The other words mostly occur with *a*-forms. The verb *kast* seems to have passed into the class of reduplicated verbs, such as *wass* inf., *wess* pt. and *wax* inf., *wex* pt.

§ 39. *e* before *st* in the above cases in self-rime.
kest pt. : *brest* pt. 1087.

§ 40. The following preterites and past participles: OFr words.
brent p. p. [of OSc *brenna*] : *uestement* 9358.
sc(h)ent p. p. [of OE *scéndan*] : C *comament* F *comandement* 983.
: *tent* [OFr *attent*] 1740.
sent p. p. [of OE *séndan*] : *monument* 17367.
pt. : *parlement* 11852.
: *present* 18537.

: *tent* s. 3496, 17944 : *tent* [from the sb. *tent*] inf. 19349.
went pt. [of OE *wéndan*] : C *comament* FG *comandement* 6571: C *comandment* 12509.
: *entent* s. 2636, 12383.
: *tent* s. [OFr *attent*] 1100, 12591, 14289.
: *tent* s. [OFr *tente*] 7713.
p. p. : *tent* s. [OFr *attent*] 3114, 10646.
by-went p. p. : *comandment* 826.

§ 41. Preterites and past participles in self-rimes
brent : *sent* 4313.
: *went* 3201.
hent pt. [of OE *hentan*] : *rent* pt. [of OE *réndan*] 4490.
: F *shent* p. p. 8610. *hent* pt. p. p. is, however, mostly rimed with *i*, see § 62.
rent p. p. : *oute-sent* pt. 4212.
schent p. p. : *went* p. p. 1640, 14839.
sent pt., p. p. : *went* pt., p. p. 5268, 7406, 8331, 12787, 20674.
tent pt. [of *tent* = attend] : *brent* p. p. 21168.

§ 42. Note the inf. *sent* [OE *séndan*] : *jugement* 1592.
: *tent* s. 3440.
: C *lent* p. p. 3997. Such a form ending in *-nt* instead of *-nd* is also shown by *stunt* s., see § 110.

§ 43. OE *a, æ, i* in unstressed syllables and words: *e*.
es(*s*) pr. [OE *is*] : *gres* s. 24475.
: *Moyses* 17768.
: *prophetess* [OFr *prophetesse* 11356.]
: *drednes* 11162.
: *dughtines* 9757.
: *forgiunes* 9573.
: C *hethyennes* 2102.
: *liknes* 555.
: *rightwisnes* 10087, 21999.
: *seknes* 5262.

: *selines* 10815.
: *sothfastnes* 17455.
: *stabilnes* 23542.
: *suetnes* 9604, 12263.
: *sulwines* 10888.
: EG *swiftnes* 23411.
: *werines* 1022.
: *wildernes* 4165, 5880, 6375, 9473, 12820, 14536.
: *wittnes* 17495.
witternes 9727.
moneth [OE *monaþ*] : *Elizabeth* 10998.
: *Nazareth* 11128.
Moyses : *wilderness* 21685.
wes pt. [OE *wæs*] : *gres* s. 2846.
C *wees* : *Hercules* 7028.
: *Moyses* FGT 6880, 6935, 9508.
: *buxumness* 24696.

With regard to the word *prophetess* the rimes recorded by REITEMEYER always prove a short *e* in feminine nouns ending in *-ess,* e. g. *emperesse, lyoness, ostess, prioress,* and such words are never found riming with words with *ē*.

§ 44. OE *i* unstressed : OE *æ* unstressed.
es pr. : *wes* C *was* 1858.

§ 45. OFr palatalized *a* : OE *e*.

mell s. [OFr *mail* pronounced *malʸ,* i. e. with *l* mouillé or palatalized] = hammer : *fell* adj. [OE *fel*] 23239. This is an interesting rime, as it shows the quality of the vowel *a* in the northern dialects compared with the more palatalized sound of *a* in more southern regions, where this OFr word *mail* < Lat. *malleum* was represented by *mall.* Thus the palatalized OFr *a* was rendered in the south by *a,* but in the north by *e.* That proves that the southern *a* was more or less «fronted» and the northern *a* a more back vowel. This difference of sounds is still extant. A mid-back-wide vowel is nowadays pronounced by dialect speakers in the northern and north-midland counties, while a low-front-wide vowel occurs in the pronunciation of educated

southern people, or in southern dialects a sound that lies between these two.

§ 46. OE *ē, ēo* when shortened : *e*.
bedd pt. p. p. [weak forms of OE *bēodan*] : *bedd* s. 12391.
for-bedd pt. [weak form of OE *forbēodan*] : *bedd* s. 11528.
bett p. p. [of OE *bētan*] : *lett* inf. [OE *lettan*] 13998, 24642.
pt. : *mete* s. [ONorth. *mett*] 14415.
p. p. : *sett* pt. [of OE *settan*] 17630.
: *um-sett* p. p. [of OE *settan*] 18564.
bredd p. p. [of OE *brēdan*] : *bed* s. 10739.
fed pt., p. p. [of OE *fēdan*] : *bed* s. 3722, 20121.
fell pt. [OE *fēoll*] : *duell* inf. 24941.
: *emell* 7699, 11831, 16088, 18907.
: *fell* [OE *fell*] 21257, 24347.
: *hell* s. 478, 9418.
: *Ysmael* 3024.
: *smell* 11500.
: *snell* adj. 6018, 7760.
: *spell* s. 19969 : *spell* inf. 14483, 21158.
: *tell* inf., pr. 11, 134, 504, 1233, 1991, 2198, 3322, 4202, 4536, 4756, 5927, 7795, 8394, 10214, 11780, 12473, 14006, 14360, 24583.
: *well* s. 5922.
: *emell, hell, tell, fell* adj., *snell* adj. 16628.
: *fell* s., *tell, spell* 15644.
: *quell* inf. *hell, spell, tell, emell* 17268.
: *sell* inf., *hell, tell* 16532.
: *spell, tell, emell* 16070.
bi-fell pt. : *tell* 1234, 1624, 2512.
gret(t) pt. p. p. [of OE *grētan* = greet] : *mett* s. [ONorth. *mett*] 4339.
: *sett* pt. [of OE *settan*] 8092, 19470.
: *umsett* p. p. 24529.
grett pt. [weak form of OAngl. *grētan* = weep] : *umbisett* p. p. 19776.
met(t)(e) pt. p. p. [of OE *mētan*] : *bett* adv. [OE *bet*] 23162.
: *dete* s. [OFr *dette*] 7641.

: *lett* s. [from the verb *lettan*] 8054.
: *set(t)* p. p. 5845, 8654, 10562.
: *umsett* pt. 7751 : *umsett* p. p. 14616.
spedd p. p. [of OE *spēdan*] : *bedd* s. 11519.
ten num. [OE *tēn* unstressed] : *men* s. pl. 2515, 2758, 4928, 5068, 6650, 7066.
: *Moysen* 6482.
: *Ruben* 4986.
wex pt. [OAngl. *wēx* of *wæxan*] : *sex* num. 10929.

§ 47. OE *ē*, *ēo*, when shortened, in self-rimes.
bedd p. p. [weakform of OE *bēodan*] : *fedd* p. p. 6070.
bett p. p. [of OE *bētan*] : *mett* p. p. 24642.
for-bled p. p. [of OE *blēdan*] : *fedd* p. p. 24395.
bred(d)(e) pt. [of OE *brēdan*] : *fedd* p. p. 12224.
C *be-bredd* p. p. : *fedd* pt. 7114.
grett pt. [of OE *grētan* = greet] : *mett* pt. 17942, 20146 : *mett* p. p. 13669.
p. p. : *mett* p. p. 11016, 12789, 17628.
grett pt. [of OAngl. *grētan* = weep] : *mett* pt. 5248, 24624.

The preterite form *grett* = 'wept' contains a short *e*, when inflected as a weak verb, as is twice exemplified by the above rimes, beside the rime already mentioned in the preceding §, and a fourth and fifth rime to a short *e* are recorded in § 50 (: *suett* pt. [of OE *swǣtan*] 15624) and § 55. These examples have been overlooked by LUICK in his Unters., where be says — although he puts it very cautiously — on page 239: «Die Reime weisen im Norden im 14. Jahrh. noch vorwiegend auf Länge, wenn ich nichts übersehen habe». A few forms with a long vowel are, however, shown by rimes and represent the OE strong preterite form *grēt;* see under *-ēt*.

§ 48. OAngl. *ē* (*ǣ*[2]) when shortened : *e*.
bred(a) p. p. [of OAngl. *brēdan* = roast] : *fedd* p. p. 6082, 13372.
dred(d) pt. [of OAngl. *drēdan*] : *bedd* s. 4359.
: *bedd* pt. [weak form of OE *bēodan*] 19723.
: *bredd* pt. [of OE *brēdan*] 17718 : *bred* p. p. 5344.

redd p. p. [of OAngl. *rēdan*] = read, tell : *bedd* pt. [weak form of OE *bēodan*] 17636, 19570.
: *bredd* p. p. 13126.
: *fedd* pt. 13509.
: *spedd* p. p. 9229.
: *wett* pt. [of OAngl. *wētan*] : *lett* s. [from OE *lettan*] 17682.

§ 49. OAngl. *ē* (*ǣ*[2]), when shortened, in self-rime.
dred pt. : *redd* p. p. 13014.
In addition to the common form *dredd* the form *dradd* is only recorded once, see § 22.

§ 50. OE *ǣ* (*ǣ*[1]) when shortened : *e*.
fless s. [OE *flǣsc*] : *es* pr. 1405, 18686, 22801, C *flexs*, 20784 C *fleche*.
: *fres* adj. [OE *fersc* + OFr *freis*] 4688.
: *gress* s. [OeSc *græs*] 546.
: *ness* adj. [OE *hnesce*] 8985.
: *ress* s. [OE *resce*] 21441.
C *flexs* : *wess* pt. [OE *wæs* unstressed] 20086.
: *wess* inf. [OE *wascan*, whose *a* has been influenced — palatalized — by the following palatal *ss* < *sc*; cfr. MORSB. p. 119] 9941.
: *wess* pt. [of the prec. verb, which has fallen in with the reduplicated verbs that have a close *ē* in the preterite. This *ē* has then been shortened before two consonants. The change of verbal class was certainly due to the similar *wax*, which belonged to the reduplicated verbs] 2714, 8174, C *wex* 1998, C *flexs* : *wexs* 23685.
C *flesche* : *sikernese* 1157.
delt p. p. [of OE *dǣlan*] : *suelt* inf. [OE *sweltan*] 24175.
ledd pt., p. p. [of OE *lǣdan*] : *bedd* s. 2549, 3595, 5130, 5185, 6962.
: *bedd* pt. [of OE *bēodan*] C 65, 2435, 6301, 12462 p. p. 17824.
: *forbedd* pt. 17503.

: *bledd* pt. 23991.
: *bredd* pt. [of OE *brēdan*] 5584 : p. p. 10939.
: *dredd* pt. 4256, 7873, 21386.
: *fedd* p. p. 3075, 5384, 7296, 10579, 11423, 13278, C *feedd* 2773.
: *un-fed(d)* p. p. 12925, 19649.
: *redd* p. p. (= told) 1460, 5594, 10198.
: *spedd* pt. 19999.
: *wed* inf. [OE *weddian*] 7250.

left pt., p. p. [of OE *lǣfan*] : *eft* adv. [OE *eft*] 18721, 24298.
: *elleft* num. [OE *ælleft*] 22628.

bi-left p. p. : *eft* adv. 24403.

lent p. p. [of OE *lǣnan*] : *amendment* 1704.
: C *commament* FG *commandment* 650.
C *lent* : *couent* s. 18349.
: *dempt* [of OE *dēman*] 23054.
: *entent* s. 23741.
: *repent* inf. 19352.
: *sent* p. p. 11100, 14290, 19934.

less comp. [OE *lǣssa*] : *es* pr. 2112, 5779, 10450, 12469, 18504, 19596, 22952, 23508, 23891.
: F *wesse* pt. [OE *wæs*] 2168.
: *miriness* 20510.
: *wilderness* 5983.

neuer-þe-less : *es* 23507.

E *lest* inf. [OE *lǣstan*] : EG *brest* inf. [OSc *bresta*] 22553. The other MSS have *last* inf. : *brast* inf.

medd adj. [OE *ȝemǣded* syncopated] : *bredd* p. p. 11160.
: *dred* pt. 18186.
: *un-spedd* p. p. 17595.

ment pt , p. p. [of OE *mǣnan*] : *entent* s. 12631, 14773.
: *sent* pt. [of OE *sendan*] 24877.
: *tent* [OFr *attent*] 1816.
: *went* pt. [of OE *wendan*] 24037.

spredd pt., p. p. [of OE *sprǣdan*] : *bredd* pt. 5485, 5929 : p. p. 6046.
: *dred* pt. 4047 : p. p. 14347.
: *redd* (= told) p. p. 21837.

suett pt. [of OE (ȝe)*swǣtan*] : *grett* pt. (= wept), *wett* p. p. [of OAngl. *wētan*] not the adj. *wēt* as KALUZA erroneously gives in the Glossary, *sett* p. p. [of OE *settan*] 15626.

threst s. [from OE *þrǣstan* = afflict] = affliction : *best* sup. 4283. : *brest* inf. 11829.

The verb *lest* is only proved by a single rime, the common form being *last;* see § 21. *lest* is a common Scotch form; cfr. MORSB. p. 132. The vowel may also have been affected by the immediately following consonant group *-st* with its palatalizing influence. *threst* is probably to be explained as due to confusion with *thrist* [OSc *þrýsta*], pronounced with an open *e;* see § 93. Beside *medd* a form *madd* also occurs in rimes; see §§ 22, 23. It is to be noted that *madd*, *medd* was used as an adjective even at an early date, and the feeling of its connection with the inf. *ȝemǣdan,* which soon disappeared, was lost. The palatalizing group *-ss* has presumably influenced *fless* and *less.*

§ 51. OE *ǣ* (*ǣ*[1]), when shortened, in self-rimes.

fless s. : G *neuer the less* 11208.
ledd pt. : *spredd* p. p. 534, 7441, 13461, 20851.
ledd p. p. : *spredd* p. p. 20385, 22759.
less comp. : *fless* 79, C *flexs* 21430.
medd adj. : *ledd* pt. 10995, 24621.
spredd pt. : *ledd* pt. 19957 : p. p. 21028.
: *lauerdhed* 600 represents the only case of short *e* in the suffix *-hed;* cfr. the numerous rimes with *ē* in § 167.

§ 52. OE *ēa* when shortened : *e.*

FG *bett* EC *bet* p. p. [weak form of OE *bēatan*] : *umsett* p. p. [of OE *settan*] 23317.

shedd p. p. [weak form of OE *scēadan* see § 173] : *wedd* s. [OE *wedd*] 13861.

reft pt., p. p. [of OE *rēafian*] : *left* p. p. [of OE *lǣfan*] 3753, 9655.
: *bi-left* p. p. 17591.

thrett pt. p. p. [of OE *þrēatan*] : *mett* pt. 19604.
: *sett* p. p. 19327.
: *umsett* pt. 195 : p. p. 10102.

§ 53. OSc *é* when shortened : *e*.
uncled pt. [OSc *kléddi*] : *spred* pt., *wedd* s., *bledd* pt. 16666.
gett p. p. p. [of OSc *géta*] = watched : *dett* [OFr *dette*] 17418.
: *met*(*t*)(*e*) pt. 7504 : p. p. 8390, 8654.
: *sett* inf. [OE *settan*] 6446 : pt. 18564 : p. p. 8640, 9879, 10006, 10020, 10296, 10532, 17637, 23878.
: *umsett* p. p. 7055 : *umsett* pt., *grett* pt., *bett* p. p. 15016.
G *be get* p. p., E *beget* : *thrett* p. p. 19718.
melt pt. [of OSc *méla*] : *delt* pt., p. p. 1068, 2088, 2267, 8727, 10387, 12479, 23039.
for-melt : *delt* 10181, 12331, 13496, 21290, 21593.
nerr adv. [OSc *nérri* = nearer] : *ferr* [OE *feorr*] 4557, 5741, 6656, 12366.
: *werr* [OFr *werre*] 7579, 12953.
CE *redd* adj. [OSc *hréddr*] : *ledd* p. p. 23023.
threll s. [OSc *þréll* + OSc *þrél-*, see further BJÖRKM. Loanw. p. 19] : *tell* 10914.

Beside *redd* there also occurs the more common *radd* (see § 23), due to an early shortening, as the sense of connection with OSc *hréda*, unrecorded in ME, was very soon lost. On the whole the form *redd* was very rare in Middle English.

§ 54. The preterite form *beft* [ONorth *bēoft* reduplicated preterite of *bēatan;* see further Etym. Sect.].
: *left* pt. [of OE *lǣfan*] 2263, 4730.
: *bileft* 24871.
: *weft* pt. [of OE *wǣfan*] = dashed 24839.

KALUZA translates *weft* with 'waved' but that is much too weak. The word also meant 'brandish, shake'. This meaning of violent movement was introduced from the OSc *veifa* = shake, brandish.

§ 55. The inf. *fett* [OE *fetiȝan* > **fetjan* > ME *fetch,* OE *fetode* pt. ME *fette,* OE *ȝefetod* p. p. > ME *fett.*
: *grett* pt. = wept 9045.
: *grett* pt. = greeted 10834.
: *mett* s. [OE *ȝemet*] 12397.
: *mett* pt. 19940.
: *mètt* pt. *grett* pt., *ete* inf. 15204.
: *sett* p. p. [of *settan*] 18799.

It was of course very difficult for such principal parts as *fetch, fett, fett* to survive, and by levelling of these forms and on the analogy of such verbs as *sett, lett,* etc. a new inf. *fett* arose.

§ 56. The preterite and past participle *fled*(*a*) [weak form of *flē* inf. < OE *flēon*] : *bedd* s. 7670, 11845.
: *bedd* pt. [of OE *bēodan*] 13858, 14457.
: *ledd* pt. [of OE *lǣdan*] 17554, 19485, p. p. 163, 9907.
: *redd* pt. 4327.
: *spredd* p. p. 6213.
: *wedd* s. 4402.

All the rimes show *fledd* with a short *e*. NED supposes that *fledd* may be of Scandinavian origin, from such a form as MSw *flydde,* although *flydde* is not recorded before 1350. Against such a supposition we have the fact that *fledd* occurs all over England even at an early date; why should it be just an old Swedish form that had this influence when the other old Scandinavian languages show other forms? As to SWEET's suggestion that there had been an identification with the verb *flede* = 'to flow, flood', I agree with NED in dismissing it as impossible because of the difference in sense. The most probable explanation seems to me that, when *fle* was inflected as a weak verb, there was an analogy from all the numerous preterites and past participles with short *e* + *dd*(*e*) — there was scarcely any pret. and p. p. weak form with *ē* + *d*(*e*).

§ 57. The adjective *left* = left : *left* pt. [of OE *lǣfan*] 2464, 21640.
: *reft* pt. [of OE *rēafian*] 3468.

To judge from these rimes the adj. *left* contains *e* and it is never found in C. M. riming with words with *i*, so it cannot be derived from OE *lyft*. In the cognate languages there exist forms such as *leeft* in North. Fris., *lef, læf, laf* in Frisian and Dutch dialects with the sense of 'left, awkward, clumsy'. The ME form *left* is to be connected with these.

§ 58. The preterite *lep* = lept : *Joseph* 17317.
: *step* s. [OE *steppe*, ONorth *stepe* influenced by *steppan*] 5193, 19078.

Lep pt. cannot contain *ē*, as is proved by these two cases in which it rimes with *step*, so it does not represent OE *hlēop* pt. It is to be explained as an analogical formation, as stated by EDD. Compare *bett* pt. of *bēt* inf., *thrett* pt. of *thrēt* inf., *shedd* of *shēd* a. s. o.

§ 59. Long or short *e* is possible in:
elleuen [OE *elleofan*] : *heuen* s. 4065.
euen adj. adv. [OE *efen, efne*] : *elleuen* num. [OE *elleofan*] 18870.
: *heuen* s. [OE *heofon*] 2232, 3106, 20908, 22535.
: *seuen* num. [OE *seofan*] 21748.
euer adv. [OE *æfre*] : *neuer* adv. [OE *næfre*] 83, 9929, 10176, 23509.
heuen s. : *steuen* s. [OE *stef(e)n*] 1195, 3783, 10835, 11242, 17749, 18123, 18329, 18439, 19207, 19643, 20129, 20144, 20303, 20484, 20516, 20676, 20930, 22467.
: *sueuen* [OE *swefen*] 4474.
seuen num. : *heuen* s. 507, 527, 8440, 12871, 21059, 23370.
steuen : *elleuen* 22528.
: *sueuen* s. 2551.

§ 60. The sb. *leuen* [of doubtful origin] = lightning : *heuen* s. 8049, 22478, 22694.

Nothing can be inferred with certainty about the quantity of the *e* in *leuen*.

§ 61. The numeral *tuent* [from OE *twentiȝ* in unstressed position] : *monument, went* pt., *tent* inf. [from *tent* < OFr *atente* s.], *scent* p. p. of OE [*scéndan*] 16906.

This short form *twent* instead of *twenti* is, as far as I know, not recorded anywhere else. The loss of the ending *i* is to be ascribed to the fact that the numeral often appears in unstressed positions Cfr. the shortening of the vowel in *tēn.*

§ 62. OE *e,* OE *ē* shortened, OSc *e,* OFr *e* riming with *i.*
grene inf. [OE *grennian*] : C *ching* G *chin* s. [OE *cin*] 11877.
hint inf. [OE *hentan*] : *dint* s. [OE *dynt*] 23236.
: *tint* p. p. [of OSc *tȳna*] 21623.
C *hint,* FGT *hent* pt. : C *brind* pt. [of OSc *brinna*] FGT *brent* 13237.
: *dint* s. 3175 C *heint* pt. : *dint* s. 12315.
C *hent* pt. : *stent* pt. [of OSc **stynta* > *stytta*] 3842, 17700.
C *hint* pt. : *stint* s. [from the verb] 12976, 18342.
up-hint pt. : *dint* s. 12183.
ink s. [OFr *enque*] : *think* [OE *þyncan*] 647, 9897, 14121, 22345.
steþi E *stiþi* [OSc *steþi* in oblique cases] : *smeþi,* E *smiþi* [OSc *smiðja*] 23237.
C *togeder* adv. [OE *togedere, -geddre*] : *hider* adv. 3834, 6554.
C *togider* : *hider* 581, 7462, 11451, 17645.
togedir : *þider* 5231, 10108, 17352, 17566, 18868.
C *yitt* adv. [OAngl. *ȝēt*] : s. *bitt* [OE *bite*] = bite 795.
C *yett* : *it* pron. 20054.

A close *e* or a sound more similar to *i* was pronounced in the above words, whose *e* was influenced by nasals and dentals; see MORSB. § 109.

i.

§ 63. OE *i* in self-rimes.
begin inf. : *blin* inf. [OE *blinnan*] 265.
: *in* adv. prep. 603, 4051.
: *wit in* adv. 2677.
: *win* inf. 20021.
biten p. p. : *fliten* p. p. G *fletin* [OE *ȝefliten*] 13866.
bituixs adv. [OAngl. *betwihs*] : *his* pron. 4033.
blin inf. pr. : *in* s. [OE *inn*] 14061, 19797.

: *in* prep. 3642, 23902.
: *witin* 23446.
blin s. [from the prec. verb]: *in* C *hin* s. 17649.
: *in* 941, 1898, 14737.
bliss s.: *his* 2389, 9426, 14395, 17779, G 17890, 17971, 18804, 19437, 22833, 23367,
: *is* CG *as* 11245, 18182, 20258, 20298, 20466, 20584, 20820, 21647.
: *miss* s. 19369, 24758 : inf. pr. 9964, 10458, 24570.
: *wiss* inf. [OE *wissian*] 14642, 24656.
: *i-wiss* adv. 981, 1863, 3109, 3508, 8756, 10401, 10813, 17114, 20168, 22853, 23407, 23544, 24157.
bliss inf. [OE *blētsian* influenced by *bliss* s.]: *miss* inf. 2375.
dim adj. [OE *dimm*]: *suim* inf. 23231.
diss s. [OE *disc*]: CG *es* FT *is* 13159.
drinc s. [OE *drinc*]: *suinc* s. [OE *swinc*] 921, 1718, 3293, 3308, 10981, 13375, 14412, 19220, 21058, 24399.
fordriuen p. p.: *liuen* inf. [OAngl. *lifian*] 24575.
flitt s. [OE *ȝeflit*]: *bespitt* p. p. [of OE *spittan*] 24537.
hider adv. [OE *hider*]: *þider* [OE *þider*] 5182, 17805.
grim adj. [OE *grim*]: *him* pron. 455, 472, 7487, 11613, 11905, 14668, 18018, 18227.
him pron : *dim* adj. [OE *dimm*] 3570, 18071, 18155, 18300, 18600, 24418.
his pron.: *is* C *es* 13933.
: *miss* s. [from the OE verb *missan*] 18441, 24226, 24339.
: *þis* 1582, 6424, 18997, 23422.
: *i-wiss* 2967, 14700, 20400, 23062, 24335.
ilc pron. [OE *ilca*]: *quilk* pron. [OE *hwilc*] 21534, 22943.
: *suilk* adj. [OE *swilc*] 13561, 18142, 19286.
in s. [OE *inn*]: *þarin* 19684.
in prep. adv.: *þarin* 19896.
: *win* s. [OE *winn*] 1309.
: *win* inf. 2460, 5616, 7681, 13770.
þar-in: *win* inf. 13788, 23095.
it G *hit* pron.: *it* pron. 8366 CF *it* G *witt* s.: *it* 3538.
lid s. [OE *hlid*]: *bid* pr. [OE *bidde*] 19788.

lim s. [OE *lim*] : *him* 18647.
lith s. [OE *liþ*] : *with* 24619, C *wit* 23260.
forliuen p. p. [strong past participle of OE *lifian*] : *driuen* p. p. 5315.
miss s. : *þis* 9112, 13533.
inf. : F *is* CG *es* 23545.
pr. : *þis* 5005.
inf. : *i-wiss* 876, 4994, 23288.
nick inf. [according to NED perhaps from OE *nic* = *ne ic*] : *quick* adj. 21078.
nym inf. [OE *niman*] : *him* pron. 17294.
pith C *pight* s. [OE *piþa*] : *with* C *wit* 18173.
quider adv. [OE *hwider*] : *þider* 23387.
quilk pron. : *milk* s. 9289.
sinkes pr. : *drinkes* pr. 536.
sitt inf. : *witt* C *wijt* 22017, 22294, C *sett* : *wijt* inf. 23058.
scipp s. : *felauscip* 24830.
frendscip E *strensip* : *wirscip* s. 23378.
gladscip : *felauscip* 13416.
smitt s. [OE *smitte*] = stain : *it* pron. 9462.
smitt s. [OE **smitt-*. Cfr. NED] = bit : *it* pron. 18735.
spill inf. [OE *spillan*] : *will* s. 2752, 4126, 4361, 9000, 12437, 22139.
spitt pt. [of OE *spittan*] : *it* 13544.
still adj. : *will* s. 407, 11145, 11275, 12156, 12287, 13117, 24567, C *stell* : *will* s. 20798.
: *will* pr. 10323, 19993.
inf. [OE *stillan*] : *will* s. 13074.
stink s. [from the OE verb *stincan*] : *sink* pr. 2867.
suilk adj. [OE *swilc*] : *milk* s. 5793, 10379, 10796, 21296.
: *silk* [OAngl. **silk* < *sioloc*, the adj. *silcen* is recorded in OE + OSc *silki*] 13123.
thick adj. [OE *þicce*] : *quick* adj. 3377.
thrid num. [OE *þridda*] : *bid* pr. [OE *bidde*] 973.
C *thred* : *mid* adv. [OE *mid*] 21590.
þis : *bliss* s. 443, 2691, 7314, 8377, 8574, 13978, FGT 14809, 17494, 18098, 18128, 19162.
: *i-wiss* 2592, 3368, 17973, 22091, 22476 : C *wis* 12042, C *Iwijs* 1917.
wi(c)k [OE *wicca*] : *qui(c)k* adj. 8688, 18581, 22779.

: *thik* inf. [OE *þiccian*] 17475.

win s. : *win* inf. 22200.

wiss inf. [OE *wissian*] = 'rule, direct', see further below : FET *is* CG *es* 22247. The inf. *to wiss* is erroneously translated in the Glossary with «certainly», which is always rendered with *i-wiss* in C. M., and one would accordingly expect to find *i-wiss* in one of the MSS. *Wiss* = 'to rule, direct' is not at all rare in ME.

: *i-wiss* 21286.

i-wiss adv. [OE *ȝewiss*] : C *is* G *es* 571, 20474, FT *is* CG *es* 12208, 13944, 17784, 20599, CF *is* GE *es* 19988.

witten p. p. [OE *ȝewiten*] : *written* p. p. 6996.

witt s. [OE *witt*] : *it* 285, 3582, 7220, 19960, 20759, C *wijt* : *it* 8552, C *wiit* : *it* 21923.

C *wijt*, GE *wite* s. : *spit* s. [from OE *spittan*] 24088.

witt C *wijt* inf. [OE *witan*] : *it* 21365, 21506.

wit(h) prep. : *smyth* s. 1517.

: *goldsmith* 21417.

writ(t) s. [OE *writ*] : *hit* pron. 17614.

: *it* 8473, 11397, 14463, 21738.

: *witt* s. C *wijt* 21992, 23864.

§ 64. OE *y* : OE *i*.

brig s. [OE *brycg*] : *lig* inf. [OE *licgan*] 8945.

did pt. [OE *dyde*] : *bid* pr. inf. 5812, 12308, 12640, 17531, 18038, 24816, *undid* : *bid* inf. 6658.

: *brid* s. [OE *brid*] 11305.

: *lid* s. [OE *hlid*] 5618, 14318.

: *mid* prep. 17481.

: *emid* prep. [< *on* (or *in*) + OE *middan*] 4251, 7521, 11628, 11988, 14015, 14621, 19140. *undid* : *emid* 6612, 8462.

: *thrid* 14774.

for-did : *emid* 10052.

for-dill inf. [< *for* + *dill* inf. fr. OE **dyll* adj., a by-form of *dol*]

: *will* pr. 23976.

ditt inf. [OE *dyttan*] : *witt* s. 11942, 19451.

: *flitt* s., *þairwitt* adv., C *wijt* s., *writt* s., *itt* 17283.

ditte pt. : C *wijt* EFG *witt* s. 24002.

fill s. [OE *fyllo*] : *will* s. 3303, 3535, 3647, 12946.

fill inf. [OE *fyllan*] : *still* 6841.

: *will* s. 14530, 23552, 24697, 24937.

fulfill inf. : *spill* inf. 516.

: *will* s. 322, 8563, 9735, 10701, 12861, 18065, 18909, 21953, 22225, 24654.

gilt s. [OE *gylt*] : *spilt* pt. [of OE *spillan*] 9767, 22860 : p. p. 4332.

misgilt s. [< *mis* + OE *gylt*] : *spilt* pt. 14733.

hill s. [OE *hyll*] : *will* s. 5774, 6416.

kin s. [OE *cynn*] : *begin* 1495, 1626, 9232, 12657, 12733, 13269.

: *him* (ass.) 844, 13287.

: *in* 2335, 9658, 10822, 18783, 20425.

: *þarin* 20417, 20503.

: *within* 1715.

: *win* inf. 112, 5502, 9499, 14831, 24709.

man-kin s. : *here-in* adv. 18434.

kys inf. [OE *cyssan*] : *bliss* s. 8117, 24473.

: *þis* 4356.

: *i-wiss* 9749, 14058.

: *miss* inf., *wiss* inf. [OE *wissian*], *bliss*, *þis* 17199.

kist pt. : *wist* pt. [OE *wiste*] 3733.

knitt pt. [of OE *cnyttan*] : *itt* pron. 8412.

lift s. [OE *lyft*] : *drift* s. [from *drif-*, weak grade of OE *drīfan* + formative *-t*] 22461.

: *scift* inf. [OE *sciftan*] 23389 : p. p. 23678.

: *schrift* s. 495.

list inf. [OE *hlystan*] : *bewist* s. [OE *biwist*] 13833.

min s. [OE *myne* + OSc *minni*] : *in* 8836, 9668.

: *witin* adv. 22096.

: *win* inf. 8939.

mikel : *fikel* adj. [OE *ficol*] 785.

pit(*t*)(*e*) s. [OE *pytt*] : *it* 4156, 20730.

: *sitte* inf. 505.

C *pijt* : *writt* s. 22056.

sin s. : *begin* 823, 12728, 13736, 19460.

: *blin* s. 882, 23038 : inf. 13936, 23246, 23312.
: *in* prep. 1169, 2304, 6485, 10248, 12935, 13026, 22492, 23665.
: *þarin* 1262, 10638.
: C *witin* F *wiþ-in* 4315, 18359.
: *win* s. 7879 : inf. 71, 920, 2439, 6973, 17498, 19241, 23001.
: *in, begin, win* 15968.

sin pr. [from the sb. *sinn*] : *þarin* 13759.
thyn adj. : C *wit in* 1674.
(*me*) *think* pr. [of OE *þyncan*] : *drink* inf. 2942.
(*him*) *think* inf. : *stink* 3574.
(*me*) *think* pr. : *suinc* s. 5863, 6670.
think inf. [OE *þencan* + *þyncan*] : *drink* inf. 24046 : *drink* s. 10435.
: *stinc* s. 23234.
: *suinc* s. 977, 9811 : inf. 24726.
: *wink* inf. 341.
umthink : *suink* 529, 23709.
wirk inf. [OE *wyrcan*] : *kirk* [ONorth *cirice*] 8300, 8856, 14764, 19532.

The irregular (*me*) *think* instead of (*me*) *thinks,* formed by confusion with *I think,* existed, as is proved by the above rimes, even in the author's language and accordingly before 1300. NED, however, says *c* 1300.

§ 65. OE *y* in self-rimes.

birth s. [OE *byrd* + OSc *byrþ, burþ*] : *mirth* [OE *myrhþ*] 2319, 10576, 10974, 11068, 24519.
T *birst* s. [OE *byrst*] = injury : *first* num. [OE *fyrst*] 6344. CG *brist* F *brest* [OSc *brestr*] = defect : *first* would constitute an assonance.
did pt. : *un-did* 18517.
ditt inf. : *pitt* s. 6726.
gilt s. : *ouergilt* p. p. [of OE *gyldan*] 6619.
kin s. : *sin* s. 1202, 1560, 8113, 8981, 11105, 12358, 12850, 14427.
man-kinn : *sinn* s. 9791.
min s. [OE *myne* + OSc *minni*] : *kin* s. 9354, 11401.

mint p. p. [of OE *myntan*] : *dint* s. [OE *dynt*] 6108.
miri adj. [OE *myrʒe*] : *biry* [OE *byrʒan*] 20773.
sin s. : *min* s. [OE *myne*] 5173.

§ 66. OSc *i* : OE *i, y*.
brin inf. [OSc *brinna*] : *blin* inf. 23206.
: *in* 22644.
: *þarin* 23211.
FG *brin,* C *bren* : *witin* 5750.
: *sin* s. 2894.
: *win* inf. 23272.
gift s. : *lift* s. 7569.
giue inf., pr. : *liue* inf. pr. 145, 1929, 1948, 3088, 3634, 3752, 3884, 5178, 6696, 8491, 8561, 11307, 12215, 19218, 20622, 24130 : C *lijf* 14266 scribal error occasioned by *wijf, lijf* in the lines above.
giuen p. p. : *fordriuen* p. p. 23655.
: *thriuen* p. p. [OE *ʒeþrifen*] 14806.
forgiue inf. : *liue* pr. 23506.
grith s. [OSc *griþ*] : *frith* s. [OE *friþ*] 657.
: *pith* s 709.
: *with* 491, 1595, 1711, 3959, 5466, 7518, 7683, 23357 : C *wit* 2420, 2506, 8023, 8830 : C *wit* G *kith* 2672.
: *forwith* C *forwit* 871, 4591.
: *þarwith* 7262, 7836 : C *þerwith* 1777.
ill adj. : *fill* inf. 22114.
: *fulfill* 23784.
: *still* 12177.
: *will* s. 502, 567, 665, 782, 1561, 3037, 9645, 12643, 13646, 17594, 21898, 23119, 23836, 24276.
min inf. [OSc *minna*] : *begin* inf. 111.
: *in* 24530.
: *þar-in* 1920.
: *witin* adv. 2717, 11757, 21565.
: *kin* s. 9124, 13934, 17713, 23956.
: *sin* s. 1327.
: *win* inf. 2488.

rin inf. [OSc *rinna*] : *blin* s. 21279 : inf. 23569.
: *in* 21856, 22525.
: *þarin* 10053, 22501, 22695.
rinnes pr. : *beginnes* pr. 1035.
ouer-rin inf. : *blin* pr. 121.
skill s. [OSc *skil*] : *will* s. 20433.
: *will* pr. 9390, 20453.
till prep. : *hill* s. 13690.
: *spill* inf. 1615.
: *till* inf. [OE (*for-*)*tyllan*] 12175.
: *will* s. 888, 1266, 1754, 3711, 9312, 9408, 10849, 11938, 12356, 12999, 18284, 19324, 19581, 23782, 23904, 24724, 24824.
: *will* pr. 13145.
hidertill : *will* s. 3606, 10282.
quartill : *will* s. 7291.
þartill : G *fulfill* 17955.
: *spill* inf. 13716.
: *will* s. 888, 1066, 4131, 6673, 13369, 14907.
þertill : *will* s. 8379, 20918.
: *will* pr. 20657.
untill : *will* 6136.
tuin num. [OSc *tvinnr*] : *chin* s. [OE *cin*] 18847.
: *in* 5527, 6270, 8276, 11868, 17347, 19441, 21206.
: *þarin* 1688.
: *wit-in* 524, 2930, 3459, 11653, 13499, 18383.
: *kin* 3788, 3967, 11024.
: *min* s. 12552.
: *sin* s. 6689, 7265, 8590, 9503, 13971, 22032.
: *win* s. 9135, 13281.
tuin inf. [from *tuin* num.] = separate (cfr. OIsl. *tvenning* = division) : *in* s. 24627.
: *in* prep. 23597.
: *sin* s. 9634.
thrift s. [OSc *þrift*] : *scift* inf. [OE *sciftan*] 4440.
thrin num. [OSc *þrinnr*] : *begin* 2010.
: *him* (ass.) 3382.

: *in* 1710, 6664, 9674, 18474, 19250.
: *þarin* 21744.
: *wit-in* 6339, 21758 : C *wit-jn* 354.
: *man-kin* 20828.
wittur adj. [OSc *vitr*] : *bittur* 698.

§ 67. OSc *i* in self-rimes.
brin inf. : *rin* inf. 7158.
ill adj. : *till* 45, 8678, 11139.
: *hider-till* 10321.
: *þar-till* 14208 : *þartill, still, will* 16774.
min inf. : *tuin* num. 1535.
: *tuin* inf. 24559 C *men* inf. : *tuin* inf. 14687.
: *thrin* num. 7775.
skill s. : *till* 14048.
tuin pr. : *thrin* num. 9816.

§ 68. OSc *y* : OE *i, y,* OSc *i.*
clift [OSc *klyft*] : *lift* s. 19841.
dill inf. [OSc *dylja*] : *skill* s. 13031, 21364 : *unschil* s. 201, 8327.
: *skill* inf. [OSc *skilja*] 9291.
fir s. [Sc *fyr(i)*] : *mirr* s. [OE *myrra*] 11501.
fiit pt. [of OSc *flytja*] : *flit* pt. pl. [OE *fliton* of *flitan*] 2450.
: *hit* pron. 2961.
lift inf. [OSc *lyfta*] : *lift* s. 14333, 22522.
: *rift* inf. [OSc *ripta, rifta*] 22633.
: *swift* 23881.
ridd pt. [of OSc *rydja*] : *did* pt. 23813.
spir inf. [OSc *spyrja*] : *stir* [OE *styrian*] 24813.
stint inf. [OSc **stynta* > *stytta*] : *dynt* s. [OE *dynt*] 19365, 22022.
: *mint* p. p. [of OE *myntan*] 10760, 22470.
pt. : *brint* pt. [of OSc *brinna*] 6026.
p. p. : *mint* inf. 6710 : *mint* s. [from the verb] 463 : p. p. 717.

§ 69. OSc *y* in self-rime.
hil inf. [OSc *hylja*] : *dil* inf. [OSc *dylja*] 1082.

§ 70. OFr *i* : OE *i, y,* OSc *i, y.*

Benjamin : *grim* adj. (ass.) 7007.
: *in* 20957 : *in* s. 4983, 5123.
: *wit-in* 5052.
: *tuin* num. 3904.
: *win* inf. 5023.
cherubin : *thrin* num. 1366.
Effra(h)im : *kin* s. (ass.) 6932.
: *tuin* num. (ass.) 5235, 6934.
Egipt : *witt* s. (ass.) 3079.
: *wir-scip(p)e* s. (ass.) 4628, 5979.
gin s. [OFr *engin*] : *begin* 741, 14486.
: *þar-in* 12540.
: *wit-in* 1759.
: *kin* s. 3715.
: *twin* num. 3644.
: *win* inf. 8219.
begin inf. [< *be-* + *gin* < OFr *engin*] : *brin* inf. 12219.
: *sinn* s. 3880.
Lidd [from Lat. *Lydda*] : *did* pt. 19767.
: *undid* 19749.
Sichim : *kin* s. (ass.) 6963.
tift p. p. [of OFr *tiffer*] : *drift* s. 9931.
: *gift* s. 5089, 24808.
: *lift* pt. 12864.
G *Tubaltainne* [Lat. *Tubalcain*], C *Cubaltim* : *thrin* num. 1512.

A great many proper names riming with *him* (see under *ī*) may come into this group.

§ 71. OFr *i* in self-rime.
FGT *couerlite* s. [OFr **covrelit*] : *tapite* s. [OFr *tapit*] 11240.

§ 72. OE *ī, ȳ,* OSc *ý,* OFr *ī* when shortened : OE *i, y,* OSc *i, y.*

hid(d) p. p. [of OE *hȳdan*] : *bid* pr., inf. [OE *biddan*] 12852, 21499, 22194.
hidd pt. : *did* pt. 13229, 17465.
: *did* 6526, 17311, 21769, E *hide* p. p., C has *taken-hid* : *did* 21706.

: *un-did* 9280.
: *emid* prep. [< *on* (or *in*) + OE *middan*] 23490.
: *thrid* num. 5611.
un-hid : *thrid* 21308.
kid pt. [of OE *kȳþan*] : *did* 11415, 13982, 14443, 21208, 23487, 24216, 24482, 24882.
: *mid* prep. 20452.
p. p. : *bridd* s. [OE *brid*] EG *brede* 22381.
p. p. : *did* 1608, 7953, 12879, 13420, 18236, 19180.
p. p. : *un-did* 7134.
p. p. : *emid* 4626, 14358, 14577.
: *thridd* num. 22494.
unkid p. p. : *fordid* 1576.
kith s. [OE *cȳþþ*] : *with* C *wit* 5451, 5978, 6134, 10171, 11545, 11644, 12609, 12766, 17790, 19407, C *kyght* 7994, 8956, C *kuith* 14797.
unquitt p. p. [of OFr *quiter*] : *it* 21431.
bitid(*d*) pt. [of OE *bitidan*] : *bidd* pr. [OE *bidde*] 24756.
: *brid* s. [OE *brid*] 24718.
: *undid* pt. 24952.
tint p. p. [of OSc *tȳna*] : *brint* p. p. [of OSc *brinna*] 6086, 22921.
: *dint* s. [OE *dynt*] 21681.
: *mint* p. p. [of OE *myntan*] 1587, 1657, 24704 : *mint* pt. 7244.
: *stint* inf. [OSc **stynta*] 1742, 4322 : *stint* s. 1877.
thift s. [OSc *þȳft*] : *gift* s. 6753.
wiss inf. [OE *wȳscan*] : *bliss* s. 4290, C *wiche* : *bliss* 14763.
: *his* pron. 23548.
: *þis* 2591.
G *witt*, C *wijt* p. p. [of OE *wītian*] = blamed : *bispit* p. p. [of OE *spittan*] 17772.

§ 73. OE *ī*, *ȳ*, when shortened, rimed inter se.
kid(*e*) pt., p. p. : *hid*(*d*) pt., p. p. 211, 1107, 4274, 6610, 10798, 17740, 21369, 21659, 22179, 22651, 22739.
: *bitidd* pt. 18525 : *bitidd, hidd, undid* 16802.
unkid p. p. : *hid* p. p. 909, 6920.
: *bitidd* pt. 13354.

§ 74. The verb *drill* [OE **dryllan;* see further Etym. Sect.]
: *spill* inf. 23716.
: *will, fulfill, ill, till* 16390.

§ 75. The adjective *gril(l)* [OE **grill* or **grylle*] : *ill* 22689.
: *spil* inf. 720.
: *will* s. 3140, 18318.
: *fill, spill, dill* adj. [OE **dyll* a parallel form to *dol*], *il, will* 17228.

§ 76. The adjective *irk* [related in some way to MHG *erken* = disgust, *erklich* = loathsome] = weary : *kirk* s. 10992.

§ 77. The sb. *quin* (= a kind of hard rock, basalt. The name *whin* occurs nowadays in the North of England and in Wales. Perhaps from Celtic?) : *wit-in* 7532.

§ 78. The verb *slip* inf. [prob. from MLG *slippen*] : *grip* s. [OE *gripe* + OSc *grip*] 4002.
wit-slip inf. : *wirscip* : 12901.

§ 79. OAngl. *i* + *ht* in self-rimes.
dight inf. [OE *dihtan*] : *plight* s. 2008.
: *sight* s. 24944.
dight p. p. : *sight* s. 11854, 13581, 14371.
plight s. : *sight* s. 5083, 9640, 13623, 13683, 19474, 23248, 23968.

§ 80. OAngl. *y* + *ht* : OE *i* + *ht*.
Dright [OE *Dryhten*] : *plight* s. 8396, 17617, 18488.
sight s. 8110, 8127, 19002, 19234, 19938, 20762.
: *flight* s. [OE *flyht*] : *sight* s. 621, 9216.
tight p. p. [of OE *tyhtan*] = (has) betaken himself : *wight* s. [OAngl. *wiht*] 20506.

wright s. [< OE *wyrhta* by metathesis] : *dight* inf. 1665, 12388.
: *sight* s. 325.

§ 81. Lat. *i* + *ct* : OAngl. *i, y* + *ht.*
benedight p. p. [from Lat. *benedictus*] : *sight* 18706.
maledight pt., p. p. [from Lat. *maledictus*] : *dight* 11888.
: *Dright* 6640.
: *plight* s. 1134, 1498, 2478, 22034, 23698.
: *sight* s. 2074, 12031, 20608, 23330.
: *wight* s. 892.

§ 82. OAngl. *e* + *ht* : OAngl. *i, y* + *ht,* Lat. *i* + *ct.*
bright adj. [ONorth. *breht*] : *Dright* 21788.
: *plight* s. 9510, 10639.
: *sight* s. 7886, 8048, 10842, 21394, 21784.
fight s. [OAngl. *feht*] : *plight* 23776.
fight inf. : *wright* s. 7496.
knight s. [OAngl. *cneht*] : *dight* inf. 24552.
C *knitht* : *maledight* 2136.
: *sight* 9006, 19824.
might s. [OAngl. **meht;* see LUICK Hist. Gr. p. 249] : *dight* pr. 19756.
: *fordight* p. p. 23584.
: *Dright* 9756, 21406, 22586.
: *flight* s. 14372, 21338.
: *maledight* 13337.
: *plight* s. 11164, 13813, 19107.
: *sight* s. 540, 580, 1307, 3558, 4300, 6202, 8212, 13653, 14633, 17404, 17748, 18766, 18928, 19406, 19690, 21638, 22154, 23428, 24000.
: *forsight* s. 283.
: *insight* s. 8998, 9526, 9733.
: *wight* s. 10068, 14373.
all-might adj. : *sight* 8155.
un-might s. : *sight* 6768.
night s. [OAngl. *neht*] : *dight* inf., pt., p. p. 3560, 7357, 11514, 17642, 19914.
: *Dright* 6090, 9996, 11000, 23052.

: *plight* s. 6749, 20052, 20804.
: *sight* s. 2712, 3796, 4462, 7978, 11266, 24842.
mid-night : *sight* 17674.
right s., adj., adv. : *dight* 8723, 13991, 14125, 21448.
: *Dright* 6454, 17538, 19012, 21346.
: *flight* 12957, 21276.
: *maledight* 10266, 14375, 22082, 23160.
: *plight* 6622, 6782, 6826, 9470, 9786, 20252, 23114.
: *sight* 6698, 13107, 17454.
: *insight* 1565, 9590.
: *wight* s. 14703, 21478.
unright : *Dright* 19872.
: *plight* 2062.
upright : *Dright* 11030.
: *sight* 8083, 19790.

§ 83. OAngl. *e* + *ht* in self-rimes.
bright adj. : *might* s. 7572, 20342.
: *night* 8545, 12569, 19297.
fight s., inf. : *might* s. 2234, 3456, 5516, 6244, 6281, 6855, 7486, 18004, 18140, 19626, 23764.
: *almight* adj. 17330.
: *night* 10298, 21388.
: *right* 469, 1476, 7550, 7976, 21726.
knightes : *mightes* 22748.
might s. : *night* 2530, 22958, 24717.
: *right* 4370, 4589, 4772, 9078, 9536, 17182, 18641, 19087, 20126, 20372, 20512, 20574, 22868.
: *unright* 20104, 20224, 20472.
almight adj. : *up-right* 11782.
night pt. subj. [OAngl. **mehte;* see LUICK Hist. Gr. p. 249]
: *right* 1585, 22992.
: *plight, night, sight, upright* 16126.
might pt. : *sight, plight, right, night,* C *knitht* 17279.
night s. : *right* 3544, 13341.
: *upright* 3803.

§ 84. OSc *e* + *ht* : OAngl. *i*, *e* + *ht*.
slight adj. [OSc **slehtr*, > OIcel. *slǽttr*] : *night* 4561.
: C *right* 9976.
: *sight* 18840.
C *slight* : *wight* s. 9888.

§ 85. OAngl. *ī* + *ht* : OAngl. *i*, *y*, *e* + *ht*.
light inf. [OAngl. *līhtan* < WGerm. **līhtjan*] = lighten : *bright* adj. 10502.
: *dight* 24228.
: *up-right* 5164.
EFG *light* : *sight* 22726.
: *tight* pt. [of OE *tyhtan*] 24489.
light p. p. : *bright* 24648.
= descend : *bright* 22728.
: *dight* 3363, 10631.
: *Dright* 9866, 22978.
: *flight* 1896.
: *might* s. 17970, 19587.
: *plight* 17914.
: *right* 22020.
: *sight* 11606.
: *tight* pt. [of OE *tyhtan*] 3157.
: *sight*, *might* s., *right* 16266.
pt. : *bright* 10090, 18768.
: *Dright* 3126.
: *flight* 12869.
: *might* s. 22068.
: *midnight* 18606.
: *sight* 24880.
light inf. [OAngl. *līhtan* < WGerm. **liuhtjan*] = *light* : *night* 8208.
p. p. = *lit* : *right* adj. 20718.

§ 86. OSc *ī* + *gt* : OAngl. *i*, *y*, *e*, *ī* + *ht*.
wight adj. [acc. to BJÖRKMAN fr. OSc *vígt*, but perhaps the same word as the sb. *wight*; cfr. *aught*, as an adj. meaning 'valiant, doughty'] = doughty : *Dright* 18172.
: *fight* 6952.

: *might* 7090, 23550, 23624.
: *night* 7184.
: *right* 10344.
: *unright* 8306.

§ 87. OAngl. *ī* (*ē*) + *ht* : OAngl. *i, y, e* + *ht.*
light s. [OAngl. *līht, lēht*] : *bright* 704, 9382, 9422, 9926, 11264, 12574, 17678, 18164, 18926, 20702, 21312, FG 22392, 22508.
: *dight* 17896.
: *Dright* 5754.
: *might* 20814.
: *night* 389, 1010, 1771, 6052, 23218, 24417.
: *plight* 18196.
: *right* 21134.
: *unright* 24159.
: *sight* 293, 525, 1287, 4775, 17344, 22488, 23294.
: *sight, bright, fight, right, night* 15728.
light adj. [OAngl. *līht, lēht*] : *flight* 18060.
: *night* 8158, 13540.
: *sight* 23022.

§ 88. OAngl. *ē* + *hþ* : OAngl. *i, y, e, ī* + *ht.*
hight s. [OAngl. *hēhþo*] : *Dright* 22282.
: *fight* inf. 7452.
: *flight* s. 21330.
: *light* inf. = descend 22994.
: *upright* 2272.
: *sight* 8029, C *heght* : *sight* 1340.
: *wight* s. 13621.

The long OE vowel in *hēhþo* was shortened sowewhat late before the consonant group *-hþ* (or *-ht* from the 13th century) the-adj. *hēh* had, of course, a conserving influence, and the result of this late shortening was a close *e,* very similar in sound to *i.* Cfr. LUICK, Stud. p. 196. *Hight* was the typical northern form and *height* the southern; see NED.

§ 89. OE *ĕ* + *ht* : OAngl. *i, y, e, ī, ē* + *ht.*
hight pt. [OE *hĕht*] : *bright* 441.
: *fig ht* inf. 24770.

: *light* s. 17876.
: *light* adj. 3286.
: *might* s. 9210, 9548.
: *might* pt. subj. 10666.
: *night* 6114, 10534, 11526.
: *plight* pt. 8386, 14523.
: *right* 1721, C 2340, 6930, 9638, 11494, 13021, 19806, 21090.
: *sight* 8920, 18472, 19660.
: *wight* s. 3886.
: *fight* inf., *night, maledight, plight* 15660.
: *maledight, night, might* pt. 15224 : *maledight, light* s., *night* 16738.

for-hight pt. : *night* 11334.

hight pr., inf. [from the preterite *hight*] : *might* 2574.
: *night* 7124, 21508.
: *bright, plight, right, might* s. 16734.
: *yisternight, flight* s., *Dright* 15990.

hight p. p. [from the pret.] : *bright* 23398.
: *dight* pt. p. p. 3674, 24279.
: *Dright* 7088, C 18322.
: *might* 1811, 9128, 18114, 18136.
: *night* 9580.
: *right* 3394.

hight s. [from the inf.] : *Dright* 18532.
: *might* s. 19005.

EFG *hight* s. : *right* 2548, 6757.
: *sight* 24651.

C *hightes* pl. : *knightes* 18570.

§ 90. OSc *æ* + *gþ* : OAngl. *i, y, e* + *ht.*

slight s. [OSc *slægþ*] : *dight* 6661, 9904.
: *Dright* 8267.
: *might* pt. subj. 5562.

Slight, being a northern form, ought to be explained in the same way as *hight* s. in § 88. The corresponding adj. *slēʒ* < OSc *slægr* (see *slei*) had a conserving influence on the noun.

§ 91. The verb *right* [ONorth *rehta* or OE *ȝerihtan*] : *Dright* 23518.
: *fight* s. 22364.
: *hight* pt. 8528.
: *almight* adj. 20796.
: *hight* pt., *light, plight, fight, might* s. 17096.
right pt. : *sight* 5440.

§ 92. The pt. and p. p. *tight* [according to NED perhaps from such constructions as *is* (*s*)*tight, was* (*s*)*tight* (of OE *stihtan*) by loss of *s*] : *hight* pt. 1301, : *hight* pr. 5431.
: *sight* 18324.

§ 93. *i* : *e*.
betide pt. [of OE *betidan*] : *bedd* s. [OE *bedd*] 8669.
bitter adj. [OE *biter*] : *better* comp. [OE *betera*] 6349.
dide pt. [OE *dyde*] : *drede* pt. [of OAngl. *drēdan*] 3413.
: *stid* [OE *stede*] 380, G *dide* : *stede*, CF *dede* : *stede* 8891, C *stedde* 20111, CG *sted* 20137.
driuen p. p. [of OE *drīfan*] : *heuen* s. [OE *heofon*] 22109.
C *gert* p. p. [of OE *gyrdan*] : *ouerthuert* 18403.
tint [of OSc *týna*] : *jugement* 9459.
thrist s. [from the verb OE *þyrstan* by metathesis] : *best* sup. 3279.
CFGT *threst* E *thrist* inf. [OSc *þrýsta* = thrust, press] = collide : CFGT *brest* inf. E *brist* 22684.
CG *thrist* p. p. [from OSc *þrýsta* = press] = pressed F *threst* : *fest* p. p. 558.

The rimes show that *i* had an open sound very near to *e*, especially in combinations with *r*. With regard to the rime-words to *dide*, it is to be noted that *drede* pt. always and *sted* s. nearly always (except only in some uncertain cases with *ę̄*) contain a short *e* in the rimes of C. M. The rime *did* : *stid* (*sted*) can also be based on the ONorth. form *styd* (see SIEV. p. 137) and in this way be interpreted as a quite correct rime *i* : *i*.

o.

§ 94. OE *o* in self-rimes.
boru inf. [OE *borȝian*] : *soru* s. [OE *sorȝ*] 6144, 23792.
boru s. [OE *borȝ*] : *soru* s. 23969.
CG *boru* E *boruen* p. p. [OE *borȝen*] : *soru* E *sarwin* inf. [OE *sorȝian*] 23511.
cropp s. [OE *cropp*] : *top* s. [OE *topp*] 1341.
moru s. [OE *morȝen*] : *soru* s. 24549, C *moruu* : *soruu* 24636.
on prep. : *yon* adv. [OE *ȝon*] 19699.
ox s. : *fox* s. 11649.
C *scottes* (*c* is often wrongly written for *t*), G *stostis* emended to *stottes* [related to MHG *stotze* see TORP Nynorsk Et. Ordb. s. v. *stût*] : *lottes* pl. [OE *hlot*] 10385.
worth adj. [ONorth. *worþ*] : *forth* adv. 5889.
: *stalworth* 3951.

§ 95. OSc *o* : OE *o*.
loft s. [OSc *loft*] : *oft* 532, 14336. *o-loft* : *oft* 21076, 21690.

§ 96. OE *ō* when shortened : OE *o*.
soft adj. [from OE *sōfte* adv.] : *oft* 23457.

§ 97. OE *éo*, by shifting of stress, *eó* : OE *o*.
C *þorth* s. [OE *þe*(*o*) *eorþe*] = the earth : *forth* adv. 3757.

§ 98. OFr *o* : OE *o*.
Amon : *fon* s. [acc. to NED related to ME *fonnen* and *fun*] = fool 9186.
Aaron : *þaron* adv. 6896, 20214.
Enoch : C *floch* GT *flock* [DE *flocc*] 18389.
Jacob : *bisshop* 19492 : *biscop* 21170.
Pharaon : *on* 6057.
pott s. [OFr *pot*] : *fott* inf. [ONorth. *ȝefotiȝa* > **fotja* > ME *fotch*. ONorth. **ȝefotade* and *ȝefotad* became ME *fott*(*e*) and by levelling of these forms *fotch* and *fott*(*e*), a new infinitive *fott* was created. We see the same thing in the case of *fett* inf. § 55].

Scarioth : *lot* s. [OE *hlot*] 14555.
synagog : *dog* s. [OE *dogga*] 13659.
Syon : *apon* 19203.
sitisot s. [acc. to NED perhaps containing OFr *sot*] : *clote* FG *clott* s. [OE *clot*] 24026.

§ 99. OFr *o* in self-rimes.
Gog : *Magog* 22332.
Magog : *Mosog* 2184.
sott [OFr *sot*] : *idiot* 10455.
: *Ysote* 17.
: *Loth* 2458.

§ 100. OE *o* + *ht* in self-rimes.
G *doght* CF *dught* pt. [OE *dohte*] : *moght* pt. [OE **mohte*] 23772.
moght : *moght* 24042.
By metathesis the OE *worhte* pt. became *wroght* : *boght* [OE *bohte*] 946, 1279, 20238, 21794.
: *moght* 5614, 9466, 13587, 21048, 23216.

§ 101. OE *o* + *ht* : OSc *o* + *ht*.
moght pt. : *soght* s. [OSc **soht* < *sótt*] 14157.
Note the assonance *moght* : *loft* [OSc *loft*] 2085.

§ 102. OE *ō* + *ht* : OE *o* + *ht*.
broght pt. p. p. [OE (*ʒe*)*brōht*(*e*)] : *boght* pt , p. p. 4240, 6174, 7924, 13197, 20014.
: *doght* pt. 10771.
: *moght* pt. 7812, 8580, 10217.
: *wroght* 9528, 11944, 12420, 18430, 18744.
noght s. [OE *nōht* < *nōwiht*] : *boght* p. p. 4624, 4911, 7267, 9611, 13060, 13849, 17156, 19376, 20230, 20548, 21440.
: *moght* 4270, 14831, 18064, 24856.
: *wroght* 345, 398, 554, 587, 613, 1110, 1690, 1730, 1747, 2020, 2798, 2900, 2947, 3336, 4961, 5294, 7297, 8392, 9392, 9694, 9700, 9862, 11726, 11768, 12062, 12322, 12414, 14631, 21728, 21818, 21854, 21902, 22042, 22160, 22708, 22946, 23566,

23808, 23916 : *worght* 518, C *notght* : *worght* 311.
: *mis-wroght* 20250.

oght s. [OE *ōht* < *ōwiht*] : *wroght* 8848, 10065.

roght pt. [OE *rōhte*] : *boght* 821.

soght pt. p. p. [OE (*ȝe*)*sōht*(*e*)] : *boght* 4814, 18326.
: *moght* 5358, 7708, 12931, 13719, 24645, FGT *soght* C *thoght* 2786.
: *wroght* 8656, 8984, 19274, 21636, 24108, FGT *soȝt* C *sloght* : *wroght* 2016.

thoght s. [OE *þōht*] : *moght* 9512, 19646, 23176, 24432.
: *wroght* 1530, 1564, 8312, 21630, 22166, 22418, 22656, 22872.

thoght pt. [OE *þōhte*] : *boght* 21462.
: *moght* 4123, 6908, 23426.

thoght pt. [OE *þōhte* instead of *þūhte* by confusion of the verbs *think* and *thenk*] = seemed : *moght* 749.
: *wroght* 1859, 5578, 9042, 20648.

(*him*) *forthoght* impers. pt. [OE *þōhte* instead of *þūhte*] = he repented : *boght* 3554.

C *for-thoght* pt. = thought out beforehand : *wroght* 846.
um-bithoght : *moght* 19892.

§ 103. OE *ō* + *ht* in self-rimes.

broght : *noght* 63, 613, 1903, 2972, 3164, 4159, 5176, 5270, 6574, 6926, 7655, 8346, 11048, 11376, 11772, 13825, 13901, 14063, 14795, 18394, 20196, 20208, 20366, 21164.
: *oght* 474, 1390, 14855.
: *roght, noght, thoght* 15102.
: *soght* pt., p. p. 160, 3362, 4834, 5636, 6990, 7330, 7644, 7900, 8155, 8238, 8774, 12588, 17562, 17620, 18344, 21772, 23086 : *soght, noght, boght* 17066.
: *thoght* s. 1944, 2358.
: *thoght* pt. p. p. 3036, 4550 : *thoght* [= seemed] 19040.
: EFG *forthoght* = displeased 24785.

: *um-bithoght* 10848, 19318.
: *wroght, soght, moght* 16618.
ouer-broght : *soght* pt. 6959.
noght : *boght, doght, boght, soght* 16534.
: *oght* 9617, 14205, 17756, 22806.
: *soght* pt., p. p. 815, 2258, 3522, 3926, 4108, 4200, 6038, 6579, 7128, 11442, 13263, 13645, 13897, 14459, 17376, 18130, 21780, 22172, 22908, 23770, 24069, *noght* : FGT *soght* C *thoght* 2804.
: *besoght* 4939, 12418.
: *thoght* s. 808, 2575, 6601, 11144, 12847, 14021, 14583, 20272, 20338, 20612, 23492.
: *thoght* pt., p. p. 1230, 1738, 5751, 8151, 8362, 20092, 20266.
: *forthoght* impers. 2732.
: *um-bithoght* 3000, 3621.
roght : *noght, bisoght, broght* 15774 : *wroght, boght, thoght* 16964.
soght pt. : *thoght* pt. 13727.
: *noght, wroght, boght* 14960.
besoght : C *soght* F *wroght* 2796.
: *thoght* s. 18902.
: *thoght* impers. 8762.
bisoght : *noght, roght, broght, doght* 16204.
um-soght p. p. : *noght, wroght, thoght, moght* 15846.
thoght s. : *wroght, boght* C *boght* G *broght,* C *thoght* G *soght, moght* 17264.

§ 104. Variations in quantity are possible in:
broken p. p. [cfr. *breck* inf.] : *spoken* [cfr. *speck* inf.] 11718.
goten p. p. [cfr. *gett* inf.] : *for-scotten* p. p. 13663.
loken p. p. [OE *ȝelocen*] : *spoken* p. p. 8324.
spoken p. p. : *unbroken* p. p. 611.
stoken p. p. [of OE *stecan* analogical form from class IV] : *spoken* p. p. 1757.
stouen s. [OE *stofn*] : *houen* p. p. [anal. form fr. cl. IV] 8036
wroken p. p. [of OE *wrecan*] : *spoken* p. p. 19260.
un-wroken : *spoken* 13066.

u.

§ 105. OE *u* in self-rimes.
burgh [OE *burh*] : *thurgh* [OE *þurh*] 11069.
curst pt. [of OE *cursian*] : *durst* pt. [OE *durste*] 19201.
hunt inf. [OE *huntian*] : *wunt* adj. [< OE *ȝewuna* + *to* or p. p. of OE *ȝewunian*] 3599.
scurf s. [OE *scurf*] : *thurgh* (ass.) 11823.
sum pron. [OE *sum*] : *nun* s. [OE *nunne*] 22027.
un-sonken p. p. [OE *suncen*] : *dronken* p. p. [OE *druncen*] 2847.
for-suonken p. p. [OE *-swuncen*] : *drunken* p. p. 2018.
throm s. [OE **þrumm-* related to OE *þrymm,* which is an *i*-stem, Flem. *drum* = throng, *drummen* = press (see De Bo), Du. *drom* = crowd, *drommen* (see Franck), but it is not to be connected with G. *Trumm,* OSc *þrǫmr,* as Luick considers, Unters. p. 243] = company : *cum* inf. 7423.

§ 106. OSc *u* : OE *u.*
drunken inf. [OSc *drunknia*] : *forsuonken* p. p. 24861.
runnen p. p. [OSc *runnen*] : *begunnen* p. p. 2299, 10928.

§ 107. OE *ū* when shortened : *u.*
dust s. [OE *dūst*] : *lust* s. [OE *lust*] 9110, 23785.
rust s. [OE *rūst*] : *lust* s. 1568.
us pron. [OE *ūs* often unstressed, cfr. Orrm. *uss*] : *þus* adv. [OE *þus*] 4183, 9287, 10920, 14297, 14749, 18388, 18965, C *hus* FGT *us* : *þus* 12621, 18215.

us occurs only once riming with *ū, ūs* : *hous* s. [OE *hūs*] 20402. *us* is, however, an enclitic word very liable to become unstressed. Weak-stressed or unstressed words and syllables, on which the ictus of the metre falls, must have either a short vowel + a long consonant or a long vowel + a short consonant; a third possibility is excluded.

§ 108. OFr, Lat *u* : OE *u, ū* when shortened.
Archelaus : *þus* 11849.
: *us* 13008.
Augustus : *þus* 11186.

Cornelius : *us* 19907.
Heliseus : *us* 9159.
Jesum : *sum* pron. 11797, 18876.
Jesus : *þus* 11076, 13566, 14221, 14598, 17606, 17999.
: *us* 18040.
Lazarus : *þus* 14127.
Magus : *us* 19517.
Nikodemus : *þus* 17654.
Priamus : *us* 7037.
Quiriacus : *þus* 21812.

§ 109. OFr, Lat. *u* in self-rimes.
Alpheus : *Jacobus* 12670.
Didimus : *Lazarus* 14219.
Jesus : *Lazarus* 14136.

§ 110. OE *stunt* s. [OE *stúnd*] : *munt* s. [OE *munt* cfr. Orrm. *munnt*] 5735 : C *mont* 17543.
: *wont* adj. 7664, C *stund* G *stunt* : *wunt* adj. 10954.
umstunt adv. : *wont* 4452, 13692, 14033, 18663.

To judge from the rimes with *wont* adj. the vowel is short in *stunt*. Beside *stunt* representing the uninflected form there exists a form *stund* (see under *-und*) from the oblique cases.

§ 111. OE, OSc *u* in open syllables rimed inter se.
cum inf. : *gum* s. [OE *guma*] 17609, C *com* inf. : *gom* s. 13093.
: *num* p. p. [OE *numen*] 9823, 20685 C *com* inf. : *nom.* p. p. 12729.
: C *won* inf. [OE *wunian*] (ass.) 3407.
cummen p. p. : *nummen* p. p. 4111, 5272, 11456, 12831, 13748, 13854, 14002 : *nommen* p. p. 18170.
C *cumen* : *nummen* 9338, C *comen* p. p. : *nommen* p. p. 3654.
gom s. [OE *guma*] : *bicum* inf. 13629.
: *ouer-cum* inf. 4308.
CG *luuen* pr. pl. [OE *lufian*] : *cummen* p. p. 20376.
mun [OSc *muna*] : *sun* s. 9233, 24051, CFGT *mon* pr. : *son* s. 9520.

numen p. p. : *cummen* p. p. 13954, C *nummen* : *commen* p. p. 5049.
: *ouercummen* 12234, C *nomin* : *ouercommin* p. p. 805.
nummen p. p. : C *for-commen* 14820.
benummen p. p. : *cummen* p. p. 17550.
: *be-cummen* p. p. 9489.
C *binomin* : *ouercummin* p. p. 14712.
sum pron. pl. [OE *sume*] : *com* inf. 22953.
sun s. : *com* inf. (ass.) 20151, 20325.
: C *won* s. [OE *wuna*] 10195, 21237.
: *won* adj. [OE *ȝewuna*] 1384, 5162, 5195, 12009, 14696, 17879, 21130, 24240, C *son* s. : *won* adj. 7292.
: *unwon* adj. 10140.
: *won* inf. [OE *ȝewunian*] 12088.
: *won* inf. pr. [OE *wunian*] 12047, 14272, 14435, 20245, 22278, 23933.
C *son* s. : *won* inf. pr. 3069, 3231.
suns pl. : *wons* pr. 23515.

The spelling with *o* may possibly denote a pronunciation ō.

§ 112. The inf. *bulk* [OE **bulcian;* see further Etym. Sect.] : *sculk* inf. [OSc *skulka*] 18511.

ā.

§ 113. OE *ā* riming with itself.

aa adv. [OE *ā*] : *sua* adv. [OE *swā*] 8330, 19091, 24968.
: *tua* num. [OE *twā*] 23097.
: *wa* s. [OE *wā*] 18009, 22456, 22858, 23256, 24206.
an num. [OE *ān*] : *ilkan* 8568, 9537.
: *manian* 4294.
: *nan* [OE *nān*] 1017, 3167, 5061, 5629, 6008, 6119, 6472, 7453, 8334, 8708, 9624, 14114, 18209, 19734, 21716, 23474, 23882, 23971, 24585.

: *schan* pt. [OE *scān*] 2022 : *scan* 8296.
: *stan* s. [OE *stān*] 6430, 17369, 17521, 19155, 21761.
: *stan* inf. [from the preceding sb.] 14678.

anes adv. [OE *ān* + adv. ending *-es*] : *banes* pl. [OE *bān*] 22792.

all-an : *an* 2002, C 3052, 10334.
: *manian* 22770.
: *nan* 810, 2560, 2762, 8751, 10705, 17787 : C *nain* [OE *nān*[4222.
: *stan* s. 21085, 24612.
: *stan* inf. 19456.

ilk-an : *allan* 10951, 19980.
: *onan* adv. [OE *on ān*] 5900, 12262.
: *gan* p. p. [OE *ȝegān*] 5361.
: *nan* 4042, 6072, 6618, 14716, 18479.
: *stan* s. 17374.

euerilkan : *onan* 20496.

on-an adv. : *an* 4606, 20201.
: *allan* 10474.
: *gan* p. p. 4886, 10559.
: *stan* s. 2441, 3805, 6466, 13394, 14353, 17692 : C *ston* 12028, 19258.

(*þe*) (*þat*) *tan* [Owing to an incorrect division of the breath group an initial *t* has been added in *tān* < *þat ān*] : *stan* s. 1534, 6682.

ar s. [OE *ār*] : *mar* comp. [OE *māra*] 8770.
: *þar* adv. [OE *þār*] 9779.

bade s. [OE *bād* = expectation, waiting, cfr. PALMGR. Grad.-nouns p. 70] = waiting, delay : *liuelade* s. 3084.

bad pt. [OE *bād*] : *glad* pt. [OE *glād*] 20829.

ban s. [OE *bān*] : *an* num. 24341.
: *allan* 9406.
: *nan* 4570, 7172.

banes s. pl. : *stanes* s. pl. 544.

bar s. [OE *bār* = boar] : *þare* adv. 4899.

bate pt. [OE *bāt*] : *wate* pr. [OE *wāt*] 18731.

C *cloth* s. [OE *clāþ*] : C *wroth* adj. [OE *wrāþ*] 10438.

fame s. [OE *fām*] : *hame* s. [OE *hām*] 5620.

fa s. [OE *fa(h)*] : *ga* inf. [OE *gān*] 9653, EFG 23803.
: *sla* inf. [ONorth. *slā*] 5677, 7615, 11592, 11803.
: *sua* adv. 3986, 7231, 14780, 20456 : *alsua* 23937.
: *wa* s. 5727, 7651, 14418, 20239, 23787.
faas s. pl. : *gaas* pr. 6822.
C *fane* pt. [of *fīn* inf. < OFr *fin-ir,* which passed into class I of the gradation verbs] : *gan* p. p. 1836.
CG *fan(e)* pt. : *nan* [OE *nān*] 14056.
ga inf. [OE *gān*] : *sua* 2745, 5088, 5202, 5988, 7523, 10370, 11586, 11981, 12338, 12379, 12686, 13057, 13397, 13818, 13964, 14139, 19671, 20839.
: *alsua* 2645, 11180, 22132.
: *tua* num. 3153, 4342, 6251, 13568.
: *wa* s. 23165.
gan p. p. [OE *ȝegān*] : *an* num. 1486, 1851, 4706, 11012, 20136.
: *allan* 9808.
: *ban* s. 12611.
: *nan* 1435, 3054, 5086, 8786, 11677, 20739.
: *stan* s. 14322, 17793, 18601, 22124.
for-ga inf. : *sua* 3124.
: *tua* 21950.
for-gan p. p. : *an* 3444.
: *on-an* 3528.
gran inf. [OE *grānian*] : C *on-nan* 17836.
gran s. [from the prec. verb] : *an* 3731.
had s. [OE *hād*] : *liuelad* s. [OE *līflād*] 5413, 21247.
fader-had [OE *-hād*] : *lade* s. [OE *lād*] 6950.
ham s. [OE *hām*] : *gan* p. p. (ass.) 13191.
liuelad s. [OE *līflād*] : *bad* pt. [of OE *bīdan*] 11107, 19836.
lam s. [OE *lām*] : *ham* s. 1372.
lare s. [OE *lār*] : *mare* comp. 2139, 8438, 18638, 22811.
lath adj. [OE *lāþ*] : *wrath* adj. 29, 959, 3580, 4890, 8922.
ma adv. [OE *mā*] : *sua* 7607, 23790 : *alsua* 14439.
: *wa* s. 5532, 14140.
man s. [NED suggests an unrecorded OE **mān* < prehistoric OE **main* —. But it may perhaps be interpreted as an early new-formation from the verb *mǣnan* on the analogy of *dāl* (= division) — *dǣlan, lād*

(= leading) — *lædan, lār* (= teaching) — *læran, swāt* (= toil) — *swætan*. Cfr. OE *bād* = 'pledge, impost', senses which seem to be due to *bædan* = 'compel, urge on' (see PALMGR. Grad. nouns p. 61).

: *an* 4277.

: *allan* 10430, 24604.

: *on-an* 4974.

: *nan* 4206, 6848, 10476, 13381, 24012.

mare comp. : *lare* s. 6859, 13885, 14715, 19288, 19334, 20536.

: *euermare* 14661.

: *sare* adv. [OE *sāre*] 3050, 3419, 3479, 4325, 5345, 13076, 13664, 19758, 20084, 20530, 20642.

na adv. [OE *nā*] : *sua* 18007.

nan [OE *nān*] : *on(n)-an* 1163, 11623, 20696.

: *slan* inf. 13953.

: *stan* s. 1040, 2246, 6711, 8849, 9893, 9916, 12969, 24327, 24667.

: *stan* inf. 13721.

qua [OE *hwā*] : *sua* 9009.

: *wa* s. 7312.

FG *quare* adv. [OE *hwār*] : *lare* s. 1000 C *ware* : *lare*.

: *mare* 20010.

: *þar* 17359, 20443.

ai-quar : *þar* 22980, 23310, 23611, 24789.

eueraiquare : *sare* 18002.

ellis-quar : *mar* 23905.

: *þar* 19036.

maniquar : *mar* 21723.

naur-quare : *þar* 14863.

nour-quar : *lar* 22445.

noþer-quare : *þar* 6310, 18603.

ourquare : *mare* 1837.

: *þar* 14570.

sum(e)quare : *lare* s. 22889.

: *forþermare* 10156.

: *þar* adv. 21411 C *sunquare* : *tare* 1884.

widequare : *mare* 19995.

: *þare* 21012.
rad pt. [OE *rād*] : *glad* pt. 11427.
ran pt. [OE *hrān*] : *gran* s. [from OE *grānian*] 24391.
on-ran pt. : *stan* s. 21547.
rare inf. [OE *rārian*] : *sare* 12530.
ras pt. [OE *rās*] : *fas* s. pl.
sar(e) s., adv. [OE *sār(e)*] : *mar* 11833 : *euermare* 23466, 23629.
: *þare* 3877, 3939, 7761, 8140, 10302, 10408, 10547, 13782, 14012, 21800, 22338.
scan pt. [OE *scān*] : *on-an* 3320.
: *stan* s. 8483.
sla inf. : *ga* inf. 5546, 19856.
: *sua* 1175, 2978, 3186, 3767, 4127, 5350, 6791, 13903, 22371 : *al-sua* 831, 1967, 6092, 6672.
: *tua* 8739, 11223, 12701, 17516, 18588.
: *wa* s. 1172, 4122, 11842, 13180.
: *ma* adv., *fa* s., *wa* 15724 : *fa, ga, sua* 16328.
slan p. p. [New formation — by the side of *slain* < OE *slaȝen* — from the inf. *sla* on the analogy of *gā—gān*].
: *an* 7930, 11566, FGT 18884, 19482, 19510, 21829, 22163.
: *all-an* 8722.
: *onan* 1076, 24775.
: (*þat*)*tan* 8602, 8738.
: *gan* p. p. 14188, C *slain* p. p. : *gan* p. p. 5259, C *gain* : C *slain* 4141, 5172.
: *stan* s. 18183, 22409.
smate pt. [OE *smāt*] : C *wratte* pt. [OE *wrāt*] 21243.
brin-stan s. : *nan* 2842.
sua : *ra* s. [OE *rā*] 19081.
: *tua* num. [OE *twā*] 2068, 2952, 7510, 7841, 8714, 9721, 11304, 13725, 14193, 18898, 20264, 20321, 20344, 21749.
: *wa* s. 1444, 2195, 2600, 4505, 5759, 5788, 8632, 8938, 9058, 9560, 9752, 11857, 11865, 12266, 12799, 13023, 14546, 18162, 18190, 20278, 22185, 22620, 23349, 24126, 24512 *alsua* : *wa* 2195, 7344, 20970, 23185.

ta s. [OE *tā*] : *sua* adv. 5931, 12967.
: *wa* s. 17145.
tua num. : *fa* s. 723.
: *ma* adv. 2270, 5659, 10150, 13489, 18469, 20070, 21184.
: *alsua* 1713, 5665, 6738.
: *wa* 23802, 24152.
þaa pron. pl. [OE *þā*] : *fa* s. 7237, 20610.
: *ma* adv. 2709, 18481.
: *sua* GT 10395, 17563.
: *tua* 1957, 2792, 21159.
þar(e) adv. : *mare* 409, 2915, 3074, 3159, 4684, 5056, 5245, 6552, 9386, 9402, 10220, 12466, 13125, 13845, 14777, 18501, 19186, 19245, 20118, 21532, 22646, 22840, 23213, 23443, 24929 : *forþer-mar* 10237.
: *þar* adv. 21544, 24039.
wat(te) pr. [OE *wāt*] : C *hatte* adj. [OE *hāt*] 301.
: *wrat* pt. 14398.
wrath adj. [OE *wrāþ*] : *ath* s. [OE *āþ*] 1617, 7934, 13171, 17397 : C *a nath* 3541.
: *clath* s. [OE *clāþ*] 6797.

Note. The rime *nan* : *bigan* pt. 1098 is probably incorrect.

§ 114. OSc *á* : OE *ā*.
ar(e) adv. [OSc *ár*] : *lare* s. 12415, 14326, 19034.
: *mare* 1402, 3594, 5907, 8866, 13627, 22044, 22621, 22794, 24387, 24852.
: *euermare* 18620, 24706.
: *quare* adv. 22086.
: *sare* s., adv. 18247, 19360.
: *þare* 8178, 9780, 10557, 18754, 19982, 20585.
bath num. [OSc *báðir, báðar*] : *clath* s. 3696, 17693.
: *lath* adj. 7245, 8106, 23228, 23619 : C *laith* 1102 : *lath* s. 1430.
: *wrath* adj. 4448, 4529.

bla adj. [OSc *blá(r)*] (especially) = 'livid by contusion', here used as a sb. = lividness : *wa* s. 6704. KALUZA wrongly translates *bla* with «blow» = stroke. *Blow* is, however, not recorded before 1460 and, moreover, never occurs in the form *bla*. The principal reason for my assuming the meaning : '*livid, lividness*' is the agreement with the corresponding passage in the Vulgate, Ex. XXI, 23—25, which runs: «Sin autem mors eius fuerit subsecuta, reddet animam pro anima, oculum pro oculo, dentem pro dente, manum pro manu, pedem pro pede, adustionem pro adustione, vulnus pro vulnere, *livorem pro livore*» (compared with the rendering in MS. C of C. M. ll. 6699—6704: «And if sco dei þar-for þe wijf, He sal þan ȝeild lijf for lijf, Ei for ei, and toth for toht, Hand for hand, lok þis be soth, Fote for fote and *bla for bla,* Wond for wond and wa for wa».). Wicliff, indeed, translates this biblical passage with : *blones for bloness*.

braith adj. [OSc *bráðr*] : *wrath* adj. 1092, 2632, 7606.

fra prep. [OSc *frá*] : *a* adv. 22615.
: *ga* inf. 1244, 1866, 4022.
: *sla* inf. 1180, 5036.
: *sua* 3812, 10453, 11154, 11744, 20404, 24173 : *al(s·)sua* 9631, 11843, 19827.
: *tua* 2522, 3515, 3971, 19770.
: *wa* s. 8506, 13038, 14897, 18242, 20267, 20356, 20841, 24322.
: *fa* s., *tua, þaa* pron. pl. 15502.
: *sua, qua* pron., *fa* s., *misga* inf. 16142.
: *alsua, wa, ga* 15528.
: *wa, forga, sua* 17016.

har s. [OSc *hár*] : *quare* adv. 7210.
: *sare* s. 14011.
: *þar* 22931.

lan s. [OSc *lán*] : *an* 10179, FG 12835 : *þat(þe) tan* 14036.
: *allan* 7505.

spa s. [OSc *spá*] : *ma* adv. 14526.
: *al-sua* 18989.
stra s. [OSc *strá*] : *tua* 7204.
þra adj. [OSc *þrár*] : *ga* inf. 5803.
: *sla* inf. 14392, 19741.
wan s. [OSc *ván*] : *an* 651, 3756, 7882, 7921, 22976.
: *gan* p. p. 4354.
: *man* s. = moaning 24167.
: *nan* 642, 8571, G 12502.
: *stan* s. 980 : *brin-stan* 2876.
war s. [presumably adopted from ODan *vaar;* for further connections see FALK u. TORP Et. Wb. s. v. *vor*] = pus : *þar* 11835.
wat adj. [OSc *vátr*] : C *hatt* adj. [OE *hāt*] 23210.
wat as a substantive = something swampy, swampy ground : *smate* pt. 2495. The substantival use of *wat* may be accounted for by analogy; ME *wēt* adj. : ME *wāt* < OSc *vátr* adj. = ME *wēt* s. (= wet, moisture, liquor) : x. Cfr. *wāt* as a noun also in § 116 with the meaning of «wet, moisture».
wath s. [OSc *váði*] : *clath* s. 3810.
: C *lath* s. [OE *lāþ*] 14659.
ya [OSc *já*] : *sua* 772, 3948, 19252 : *alsua* 14270.

§ 115. OSc *á* riming with itself.
bath(*e*) num. : *bath* num. 18598.
: *wathe* s. 11167, 18719, 20978 C *waith* 793.
brath adj. : *wath* s. 4004.
fa adj. [OSc *fár*] : *fra* prep. 8600.
ya : *fra* 5990.
: *fra, sla* inf., *sua* 15978.

§ 116. OFr, Lat. *a* : OE *ā*, OSc *á*.
Abia : *ma* 9144.
Abram : *gan* p. p. (ass.) 5723.
Abraham : *ham* s. 2764, 3350 *Abram* : *ham* 2588.
: *quam* pron. 5347.
Adam : *allan* (ass.) 1111.
: *ham* s. 991.

allas int. : *gas* pr. 14287.
: *ras* pt. 6127.
alleluia : *aa* adv. 18372.
: *sua* 18352, 18368.
alpha : *sua* 12205.
Anna : *ma* adv. 17812.
: *sva* 10470.
: *wa* s. 10368.
aromat s. [OFr *aromat*] : *wat* pr. 21300.
Batriane = Bactria : *Hirthane* = Hyrcania 21096.
Bethaida : *sua* 20862 : *alsua* 21080.
: *wa* 22106.
blame s. [OFr *blame*] : *hame* 19600.
C *Boffora* : *sua* 21176.
Caiphas : *upras* pt. 17781.
Chanaan : C *o-nan* adv. 2479.
: *nan* 3235, 5387.
Cantica : *tua* 8471.
Cesar : *þar* 19803.
Cham : *an* (ass.) 13363.
Dalida : *ma*
debat s. : *wat* pr. 9684.
Delbora : *ma* 7018.
: *sua* 1451.
Domician : *an* 21998.
Dyna : *tua* 3900.
: *þaa* pron. pl. 3909.
egypcian : C *slain* p. p. 5672.
Enea : *sua* 19754.
Euphrat : *wat* adj. 1317.
fade adj. [OFr *fade*] : *abade* pt. 24028.
fame s. [OFr *fame*] : *ham* s. 13026.
gale [OFr *gale*] : *hale* adj. [OE *hāl*] 8710.
Helia = Elia : *sla* inf. 1477.
Iohan : *an* 24236 : *allan* 18755 : *ilkan* 20415, 20428 : *euer-ilkan* 20502 : *onan* 19190, 20552, 20711 CT *Ion* : *onan* 11096 CF *Iohn* G *Iahn* : *onan* 19451.

: *gan* p. p. 11281.
: *nan* 11077, 12907, 13168, 20367.
: *slan* p. p. 13048.
: *wan* s. [OSc *ván*] 24615.
Ionathan : *slan* p. p. 7757.
Ionathas : *fas* s. pl. 7799,
Ioram : *quam* pron. 9158.
Iordan : *an* 12334 : *ilkan* 3920 : *onan* 7995, 18468.
: *fan* pt. [of *fin* < OFr *finir*] 8185.
: G *be gan* p. p. 2866 C *bigan*.
: *nan* 17962.
: *stan* s. 6957, 12880.
Iuda : *sua* 11468.
Lazar : *sar* 14295.
Madian : *wan* s. [OSc *ván*] 5680.
manna : *alsua* 6593.
: *þaa* adv. [OE *þā*] 6383.
Maria : *tua* 5605.
Martha : *tua* 14082.
mate inf. [OFr *mater*] : *hat* adj. 21041.
: *wrat* pt. 8479.
Maximilla : *fra* 8902.
Noema : *alsua* 1523.
occean [OFr *occean*] : *nan* 11396.
ossanna : *wa, sua, fra* 15106.
pan s. [OFr *pan*] : *wan* s. [OSc *ván*] 4388.
Pantera : *tua* 9245.
Parpantera : *ma* 9249.
pas s. [OFr *pas*] = pace : *ras* pt. 19076.
= passage (in a book) : *ras* pt. 18583.
Pilate : *wate* pr. 19094.
Probatica : *fra* 8927.
publican : *an* 21120.
Putifar : *mar* comp. 4407.
Ramatha : *sua* 7678.
Roboam : *quam* pron. 9139.
sabbat : *smat* pt. 11998.
Salmana : *tua* 7026.

Sare [OFr *Sare*] : *ar* adv. [OSc *ár*] 2437.
: *mare* 2683.
Sarra [Lat. *Sarah*] : *ma* 3210, 3403.
: *sua* 2686, 10484 : *alsua* 2715, 3426.
: *tua* 2312.
Sathan : *an* 11939, 17994, 19883 : *onan* 18079.
: *misgan* p. p. 9051.
: *man* s. = moaning 18074, 18282.
: *nan* 12024.
scap(e) inf. [OFr *escaper*] : *grape* [OE *grāpian*] 23241.
: *rap* s. [OE *rāþ*] 21921, 23729.
: *slape* s. [OE *slāþ*] 7201.
Sephora : *tua* 5551.
square [OFr *esquarre*] : *þar* adv. 19844.
stat(e) s. [OFr *estat*] : *smat* pt. 20957.
: *wat* pr. 314, 1552, 1999, 2981, 9468, 11864, 13609, 14027, 14509, 17611, 21759, 21925, 24205, C *watte* 5060.
: *wat* adj. [OSc *vátr*] 23680, 24082 : *wat* in substantival use = wet, moisture 6365.
: *wrat(te)* pt. 18520, 21040, 21325.
: *yate* inf. [OE *ȝeātan* + OSc *játa*] 22414.
Thola : *ma* 7030.
Traian : *slan* p. p. 21174.
translate p. p. [Lat. *translatum*] : *wat* pr. 7956.

The sb. *pas* in the above senses contains a long *a*, as opposed to the verb *pass*, which has short *a*, as is proved by the rimes in § 25.

§ 117. OFr, Lat. *a* in self-rimes.
Abias : *Micheas* 9168.
Abram : *Adam* 3214, 5474.
: *Aram* 2306.
Abraham : *blam* 4027.
Achaz : *Ezechias* 9178.
Adam : *blam* 727, 790, 818, 8500.
allas : *cas* s. 9086.
fas : s. pl., *Caiphas, pas* s. *ras* pt., *Sathanas, Iudas* 15398.

Amadas : FT *Isombras(e)* G *Ysumbrase* C *Ysambrase* 19.
Anna : *Ismaria* 10148.
Aran : *Laban* 3770.
Balam : *Laban* (ass.) 2310.
Barabas : *Mathias* 18900.
baronage : *Cartage* 8534.
: *heritage* 8161.
: *stage* 21609.
: *vantage* 8015.
betha : *alpha* 12426.
Calmana : *Delbora* 1502.
Cleophas : *Salomas* 12694.
Delphica : *Sibila* 7031.
Dorcha : *Thabita* 19762.
CF *Euila* : *Sagabata* 2194.
face : *grace* 953, 4264, 12511, 17683, 17906, 18813, 19786, 23939.
: *space* 18625.
fame : *blame* 2476.
grace : *mana(n)ce* [OFr *manace, menace*] 1834.
: *space* 20234, 23907.
heritage : *stage* 7340, 9411.
homage : *page* 7499.
Iohan : *Domician* 21036.
: *Iordan* 167, 12830.
Iudas : *Sathanas* 11903.
: *Thomas* 13299.
Iudea : *Macedonia* 21122.
lace s. [OFr *las, laz*] : *place* 1728, 8778.
langage : *heritage* 3744.
: *rage* 2210.
Madan : *Madian* 3390.
manace [OFr *manace, menace*] : *chace* 3765.
: *place* 7471.
mariage : *heritage* 3374, 3398.
: *rage* 6986.
mate adj. [OFr *mat*] : *state* [OFr *estat*] 3483, C *matt* : *stat* 10041, 11135.

organ : *timpan* 21309.
pass s. = walk : *allas* 22669.
: *Herodias* 13153.
C *pass* FGT *pas* s. = pace : C *compass* FGT *cumpas* 9948.
pase s. = pass : *Temase* 2519.
passage : *stage* 19989.
pelgrimage : *heritage* 2661.
place : *grace* 851, 3421, 4526, 4981, 5590, 7551, 8034, 10062, 10837, 11038, 11707, 12716, 18624, 19404, 19972, 20148, 21540, 21848, 22090, 22406, 24057.
: *solace* 8240.
: *space* 6979.
plate adj. [OFr *plat*] : *mat* adj. 17709.
potage : *heritage* 3550.
principal : *perigal* 2095.
principals : *cardinals* 10008.
Rebecca : *Sarra* 3376.
rigolage : *stage* 49.
Sathanas : *Ananias* 19237.
Sodoman : *Abraham* 2735.
solace : *face* 4547.
: *grace* 9881, 13666, 24304.
: *lace* 22968.
stabel(l) [OFr *stable*] : *fabel* 23858.
: *tabell* 13.
stable : *comunable* 10122.
CT *stabul* : *fabul* 2350.
state : *avocate* 20927.
: *Sabat* 13585, 13916, 17321.
: *late* s. [OSc *lát*] = face, *wate* pr., *Pilate* 16206.
suage inf. [OFr *assouager*] : *rage* 24350.
tabernacle : *meracle* 2489.
translate p. p. : *state* 232, 9221, 17766.
(o)ut(t)rage : *barnage* = baronage 13162.
: *heritage* 812, 3029, 9454.
: *image* 1116, 1971.
: *langage* 248.

: *uisage* 4638.

In many of these cases a short *a* is possible; cfr. § 10.

§ 118. *a* lengthened in an open syllable : OE *ā*, OSc *á*, OFr *ā*.
bale [OE *bealu*] : *hale* [OE *hāl*] adj. 21621, 24201, 24466, 24876.
ban s. [OE *bana*] : *al-an* 7633.
bar adj. [OE *bær* in oblique cases] : *ar* [OSc *ár*] 801, 871, C 10126.
: *har* s. [OSc *hár*] 3490, 3662.
: *mare* 1322.
: *namare* 1879.
bar pt. [from the plural *bāre*(*n*) < OE *bær* + *e*(*n*)] : *Agar* 3048.
: *ar* adv. 4486, 10125, 10669, 12568, 13216, 14422, 23672, 23985.
: *Eleazar* 9243.
: *har* s. 5313, 18844.
: *lar* s. [OE *lār*] 12458.
: *mare* 494, 1187, 8255, 8634, 11206, 12149, 13799, 14440, 16658, 20782, 21541, 21710, 22657, 24597, 24632 : *mare, euermare, ar* adv. 15078.
: FG *quare* [OE *hwār*] C *ware* 159 : *ellesquar* 22827 : *sumquare* 19283, 20731.
: *santuar* 6888, 8274.
: *sar* [OE *sār*] 1069, 18635, 21230, 23977, 24225.
: *Sare* 10517.
: *þar* 5238, 5568, 6359, 6542, 8005, 8622, 8657, 8917, 11755, 12822, 13240, 18726, 18824, 19052, 19248, 20210, 20772, 21438, 22731, 23124.
up-bare pt. : *hare* s. [OSc *hár*] 7257.
came pt. [analogical form from class IV. of strong verbs] : *Abram* 2383.
: *Adam* 1206.
: *ham* 17702, 20777.
: *quam* pron. [OE *hwām*] 20398.
: *Sephoram* 6438.
care s. [OE *caru*] : *Agar* 2630, 3062.
: *ar* adv. 1298, CF 5132, FGT 11902, C *fare* s. 24371.
: *ar* s. [OE *ār*] 10100.

care : *mare* 485, 616, 1410, 5290, 17518, 23321, 23498, 23981.
: *sar* 3611, 7964, 10419, 10443, 10496, 18145, 20539, 23087, 24066, 24383, 24869.
: *þar* adv. 1349, 4190, 4500, 9445, 10780, 13746, 14303, 23101, 23333, 23364, 23635, 23993.
: *þare, mare, sare, ar* adv. 15588 : *ar* adv. *sar* adj. *spar* inf. *war* s. [OE *waru*] 16468.

care inf. : *mare* 24249.
: *þar* 10477.

claf pt. [analogical form from class IV of strong verbs] = split : *raf* pt. [OE *rāf*] 24419.

claf pt. [prob. analogical form from class IV of strong verbs; cfr. NED] = stuck : *draf* pt. 20954.

G *dar* pr. pl. [new formation from *dar* < OE *d(e)arr* pr. owing to its frequent occurrence with weak stress as an auxiliary verb and on the analogy of *bar*—*baron* pt.] C *dere* : *namare* 18453.
: *sare* adv. 19120.

fare s. [OE *faru*] : *lare* s. 1831, 3659, 24374.
: *mare* comp. 3850, CFG 23261.
: *sare* 17665.
: *þare* adv. 3234, 4754, 6536, 13213.

fare inf. pr. [OE *faran*] : *ar* adv. 4866, 22356.
: *chare* [OFr *char*] 5183.
: *lare* s. 4946, 24806.
: *mare* comp. 5991, 13757, 14045, 23327 : *euermare* 20352, 24286.
: *sare* adj. 2960, 5017.
: *þare* 14597, 22118, 23207, 24780.

for-fare inf. pr. : CF (*þi*) *nare* GT (*þin*) *are* s. 2749.
: *mare* 2831, 22762.
: *sar* 12436.
: *þar* adv. 5013, 14539.

misfare s. : *ar* adv. 316.

gate [OSc *gata*] : *smat* pt. [OE *smāt*] 6262.

gat(t)e : *yate* [OE *ʒeātan* + OSc *játa*] inf. 7100.

al-gat adv. [OSc *gata*] : *state* s. 10409.
þus-gate [OSc *gata*] : *state* s. 4091.
gaue pt. [OSc *gaf* + *e*(*n*)] : *laue* s. [OE *lāf*] 7115 = 'rest' 'remnant,' not = 'loaf', 'honey-comb' as KALUZA states in the Glossary.
: *thraue* pt. [OE *þrāf*] 3911.
gram [OE *grama*] s. : *Abram* 2423.
hare s. [OE *hara*] : *sar* s. 689.
haue inf. [OE from *hafaþ*] : *laue* s. 769, 21454.
lame adj. [OE *lama*] : *Adam* 17950.
: *ham* s. 8136.
lat adv. [OE *læte*] : *state* 20362, 23812.
: *wat* pr. 4510, 4958.
licam [OE *licama*] : *Abraham* 6868.
: *blam* [OFr *blame*] 6013, 12070.
: *fame* [OFr *fame*] 10613.
: *lam* s. [OE *lām*] 194, 22803, 22949.
name [OE *nama*] : *Abraham* 2650, 3041, 7839.
: *Adam* 406, 589, 623, 631, 864, 932, 9434.
: *blame* s. 596, 9285, 19150, 19336, 19732.
: *blame* inf. 14705.
: *Dane* 22011.
: *fame* [OFr *fame*] 7369, 7884, 10195, 10614, 10863, 12664.
: *fame* s. [OE *fām*] 14408.
: *ham* 2769, 4807, 4846, 4979, 7387, 8879, 11917, 19074.
: *Jame* 12521.
: G *nan* C *name* 9830.
nam pt. [analogical form of cl. IV of strong verbs] : *Adam* 1368.
nightertale [acc. to NED OSc *náttarþel* with a substitution of the more familiar *tale*(OE *talu*)] : *hale* adj. 2991, 3209.
rath adv. [OE *hraþe*] : *wath* [OSc *váði*] 21056.
sale s. [OE *sala*] : *hale* adj. 19239.
C *saite* pt. pl. [OE *sæt* + *e*(*n*)] : *wrate* pt. 17845.
schade s. [OE *sceadu*] : *glad* pt. [OE *glād*] 20883.
scam s. [OE *scamu*] : *blam* 10247, 17128, 23494, 20080, 20726.
: *blame* inf. 23300.

: F *Cham* [Lat. *Cham*] CGT *Cam* 2025.
: *ham* s. 10290, 10413, 12431, 14018.
: *ilkan* 14476 (ass.). For the phrase *soght scam on* cfr. l. 16629.

smale adj. [OE *smæl* in oblique cases] : *bale* inf. [OFr *baler*] 13139.

spar inf. [OE *sparian*] : *ar* adv. 5868.
: *mare* 22340, 23146.
: *sare* 3973.
: *þar* adv. 5965.
s. [from OE *sparian*] : *ar* adv. 2911.
: *lare* s. 22120.
: *þar* 19738, 20906.

stale pt. [OE *stæl* + *e*(*n*)] : *cal* [OSc *cál*] 12454.
: FG *hal* CE *all* 19227.

stare [OE *starian*] : *ar* adv. 13557.

G *suare* pt. C *suer* [analogical form from class IV of strong verbs] : *mare* 4649 : *mare, þar, are* adv. 15942.

take inf. [OSc *taka*] : *suak* pt. [OE *swāk*] 820.

tale s. [OE *talu*] : *bale* [OFr *baler*] inf. 13194.
: *hale* adj. 420, 685, 2100, 3919, 6271, 8512, 9134, 9416, 9859, 10404, 13302, 13870, 18505, 18628. 18896, 19312, 19386, 24887 : *sam-hale* 5153.
: *unhale* 23564.
C *talle* : *principale* adj. 123.

samentale [*samen* + *tale* s.] : *hale* adj. 23522.
samer-tale : *hale* adj. 684.

tame [OE *tam* in oblique cases] : *lam* s. [OE *lām*] 17326.

wale s. [OSc *val* n. in the oblique cases, as often with neuters e. g. OE *dæl* + *e*, OE *ʒæt* + *e*] : *hal* 8554, 10058.
: *male* [OSc *mál*(*i*)] 5375.
: *marscal* 7630.
: *scale* [OSc *skáli*] 8592.
: *special* 17625.

wan s. [OE *wana*] : *an* 1430, 3583.
: *allan* 7609, 24094.
: *Chanaan* 5470.
: CFGT *Iohn* 20055.
: *nan* 19060, 22846.
: *þe tan* < *þat ān* 9843.

wane [OE *wanian*] : *an* 22557.
wrac inf. [from OE *wracu*] : *strake* [OE *strāc*] s. 12427.
yaar [OE *ȝearu*] adj. : *ar* adv. 915.
C *yarre* : *mare* 5509.
: *þar* adv. 2837.
yate s. [OE *ȝæt* in oblique cases] : *in-lat* s. [OSc *láti*] 18077.
: *late* inf. [OSc *láta*], *mate* [OFr *mati*], *wat* pr. 15894.

Note. The rime *man* = 'man' : *nam* = 'name' 12737 is inaccurate.

§ 119. *a*, lengthened in an open syllable, rimed inter se.
bal s. : *tale* s. 22848, 23952.
bar adj. [OE *bær* in oblique cases] : *care, sare, mare, ar, þare* 15676 : *care* s. 5402.
bar pt. : *care* [OE *caru*] s. 1051, 3478, 9256, 10412, 20132, 20280, 24354, 24550.
: *car* inf. [OE *carian*] 3212.
: *misfare* s. 14304.
: *ware* [OE *waru*] 4180.
: *fare* pr., *lare, care, ar* 15618.
: *ar, spar* inf., *mare, sare* 16950.
forbar : *spar* inf. 4117.
care s. [OE *caru*] : *fare* s. 4238 : *fare* inf. 7354, 20507, 24234.
: *spare* inf. 21514.
care [OE *carian*] : *bar* pt. 3212.
crak s. [fr. the verb OE *cracian* or, acc. to NED, OE **crac*] : *spak* pt. 18954.
craue inf. [OE *crafian*] : *haue* pr. 8400.
dale [OE *dæl* in oblique cases] : *bale* [OE *bealu*] s. 9397, 18630.
: *tale* [OE *talu*] 7709, 17563.
duale s. [OE *dwala*] : *nightertale* [OE *talu*] 14197.
fare s. [OE *faru*] : *ar* adv. *care, þar* adv. 15114.
: C *fare* pr. 3263.
: *ware* s. 4893.
gate [OSc *gata*] : *yate* s. 1263, 8959, 10365.
grama [OE *grama*] : *name* 19362, 21978, 22312, 23129.
haue inf. pr. : *gaue* pt. 667, 2429, 2544, 3131, 3713, 6147, 7513, 9379, 9534, 11090, 19043, C *haf* : *gaf* 9814, 10203, 10486, 17647, 21472 : *for-gaf* pt. 14043.

: *knaue* [OE *cnafa*] 6477, 6845, 10267, 10504, 12393.
: *staue* [OE *stæf* in oblique. cases] 7322.
lake [OE *lacu* + Lat. *lacus*] : *wrak* s. 2887, 18314.
lame adj. [OE *lama*] : *fam* s., *ham* s., *name* 15064.
: *schame* s. 20738.
s. [from the adj.] : *licam* 22324, 8406.
licam [OE *licama*] : *becam* pt. 20684.
: *gram* s. 9108, 17660.
: *un-lame* adj. 21045.
: *scame* 635, 799, 4413, 7826, 10082, 17323.
make s. [OE *ʒemaca*] : *sak* s. 4044.
: *spak* pt. 19656.
: *tak* inf. 1379, 4668, 24131 : *in-take* 6066 : *under-tak* 4641.
: *wrak* s. 5862, 22273, 22561.
make [OE *macian*] : *sak* 5032, 5522, 7965, 10249, 10375, 10868, 13842, 14171, 23151, 23298.
: *spak* pt. 6660, 11025, 11400, 24219, C *spack* 11995.
: *tak* inf. 3165, 3178, 8303, 10642, 11882, 12389, 20294, 24923.
: *wrak* 22437.
naked adj. [OE. *nacod*] : *maked* pt. 989.
name s. : *lame* adj. 19073.
: *schame* s. 2201, 3741, 7566, 7725, 8914, 9089, 9106, 12212, 12448, 13297, 17118, 17472, 19448, 19669, 19968, 20222, 20331, CF 20461, 20469, 20926, 21827.
: *fame, scham, hame* 16524.
nam pt. [analogical form from class IV of strong verbs] : *came* pt. 20109, 20562, 20680 : *becam* pt. 20531.
nightertale s. : *bale* [OE *bealu*] 18611.
: *stal* pt. 7783.
: *wale* s. 9214.
quaked pt. : *maked* p. p. 21523.
sake s. : *forsake* [OE *forsacan*] 18788.
: *take* inf., pr. 4799, 5079, 6834, 10427, 11701 : *undertake* 7477, 9064.
: *wrake* s. 2471, 7281, 9472, 11553, 13054, 19243.

: *make* inf., *wrake, quake* inf. 16180.
sakes pl. : *wrakes* pl. 4950.
forsake inf. : *wrake* s. 22206.
saked adj. [< *sake* + *ed*] : C *hatted* p. p. [of OE *hatian*] (ass.) 1224.
scak inf. : *quak* inf. 3565, 22552.
: *sake* 6067.
mischapen p. p. : *scapen* p. p. 367.
slake [OE *slacian*] : *sak* 3772, 5114.
: *tak* 5114, 9642, 24116.
s. : *sake* 23618.
slakes : *for-sakes* 23793.
: *takes* 12886, 18357.
smale adj. : *tale* s. 394.
spade [OE *spadu* s.] : *sad* adj. [OE *sæd* in oblique cases] 1239.
spak pt. : *sake* s. 13637, 17910.
: *tak* inf. 4817, 11399, 12162.
: *ouer-take* 19415.
spak pt. : *wac* pr. [OE *wacian*] 7989.
: *wrake* s. 889, 1732, 2933, 4017, 17296.
spare inf. : *care* s. 21514, 24150, pr. subj. : *care* s., *namare, sar* adv., *þar* 16290.
: *suar* pt. 14605.
: *ware* s. 5393.
s. : *bar* pt. 24429.
sware [OSc **swaru* > OIcel. *svǫr*] : *bar* pt. 17819.
suar pt. : *care* s. 5434.
: *forfare* inf. 18362.
take inf. : *make* inf. 86, 332, 1661.
: *sak* 19020.
: *spak* pt. 2812, 10660, 21489.
: *wrake* s. 838, 2881, 17488, 18717, 21927.
under-take : *wrake* s. 18608.
undertaken p. p. : *forsaken* p. p. 917.
wal s. [OSc *val* in oblique cases] : *bale* s. 7187, 13641, 23641, 24750.
ware s. [OE *waru*] : *spar* inf., *sare, ar, care* 16476.
wrake inf. [from the noun] : *sake* 6598, 9647.
: *take* 6094 : *ouertake* 6255.
yaar adj. [OE *ȝearu*] : *fare* inf., 5002, 11479.

yatte s. [OE *ʒæt* in oblique cases] : *forgate* pt. 12593.
: *sate* pt. 2767.

§ 120. OE *a, æ,* OSc *a* in open syllable : short *a*.
brac pt. : *bak* s. [OE *bæc*] 4389.
crak inf. [OE *cracian*] : *bak* s. 3567
gatt pt. : *hatt* [OE *hātte* = is called] 12667, 13007.
quak inf. [OE *cwacian*] : *blak* inf. [from *black* adj.] 24413.
sat pt. : *quatt* [OE *hwæt*] 8449 : *maniquat* 12597.
: *þarat* [OE *-æt*] 2721, 13491.
spak pt. : *felauskap* [OSc *félagskapr*] 2211.
: *hak* s. [cfr. the OE verb *haccian* and G. *Hacke*] 1242.
spack pt. : *on bak* s. 8087.
stake s. [OE *staca*] : *o bake* [OE *on bæc* = backwards] 7526.
ouertak pr. subj. : *stak* s. [OSc *stakkr*] 6759.
yate s. : *þarat* 17939.
: *hatt* [OE *hātte* = is called] 10545.

All the above words have short *a* and consequently show that the lengthening of *a* before *k* and *t* is facultative. With this assumption the following rimes may be accounted for:
gatt s. [OSc *gata*] : *hatt* [OE *hātte* = is called] 12815.
: *yatt* pt. (< *yǎtte* pt. of OE *ʒeātan* + OSc *játa*) 8806.

These two rimes prove that *gatt* s. contains a short *a*. LUICK, Unters. p. 239, considers that this short *a* in *gate* is due to the influence of the short *a* in *yatt* s. [OE *ʒæt*]. But such an explanation seems very improbable.

§ 121. *â* in contracted forms : *ā, a* lengthened in open syllable.
made pt. p. p. [< **magd(e)* < OE (*ʒe*)*macod(e)*] : *a-badd* pt. [OE *abād*] 8059.
: *bad* pt. [OE *bād*] 8203, 10569, 10989, 12273, 12518, 12603, 13202, 13823, 14238.
: *bade* s. [OE *bād,* not mentioned by NED. Many examples are, however, recorded in BOSW.-TOLL. Suppl. I with the sense of «expectation, waiting». Cfr. PALMGR. Grad.-nouns p.

70] = waiting, delay 489, 607, 2485, 3145, 4207, 6211, 7399, 7559, 10677, 11046, 12538, 13413, 18338, 20206, 23190 : C *baide* s. 2535.
: *brad(e)* adj. [OE *brād*] 94, 347, 1667, 2242, 5102, 7325, 7447, 7877, 8081, 8530, 9732, 14001, 17838, 22676 : C *bradd* adj. 24818.
: *(o)brad* s. 8862, 21664.
: *glad* pt. [OE *glād*] 11485, 23222, 24939.
: *lade* s. [OE *lād*] 3086, 8441, 11936, 12019, 19396.
: *liue-lad* s. 1507, 1961.
: *had* s. [OE *hād*] 20941.
: *maiden-hade* 10360 : E *maidenhad* 24677.
: *rade* pt. [OE *rād*] 11658.
: *schade* inf. [OE *sceādan*] 22929.
: *slade* s. [OE *slæd* n. in oblique cases, cfr. *dæl* n.] = valley 1260.
: *Tiberiade* 13453.
: *glad* pt., *bade* s., *brad* adj. 16490.

mas pr. [ONorth. *makas*] : *Sedechias* 9200.
: *gas* pr., *allas, faas* s. pl. 15130.

C *mass* pr. : *Messias* 12777.

ta inf. pr. [OSc *taka*] : *fra* 5817.
: *ga* 4795.
: *alsua* 1822.
: *tua* 5831.
: *þaa* pron. 12755.
: *wa* s. 9372.

ouer-ta inf. : *sla* inf. 3976, 7650.

under-ta inf., pr. : *ga* inf. 4796.
: *tua* 307.

tan p. p. [< *tâken*] : *Alban* 21109.
: *an* 10391, 20565 : *allan* 1927, 5286 : *ilkan* 23504, 23889 : *an, gan* p. p., *nan* 15928.
: *onan* 19694.
: *ban* s. 1471.
: *gan* p. p. 928, 4475, 5275.
: *Iordan* 12917, 18477.
: *lan* s. [OSc *lán*] 23884.

: *Madian* 5732.
: *name* (ass.) 5645.
: *nan* 300, 2884, 3332, 10168, 10239, 23030.
: *ouergan* p. p. 4721 : C *houergan* p. p. 4029.
: *slan* p. p. 12691 : C *slain* 7271, FG *be tane* C *bitan: slan* p. p. 14514.
: *stan* 9097, 18575, 21018.
: *wan* adj. [OE *wana*] = wanting 8489.
: *ban* s., *nan, gan* p. p., *onan, Sathan, allan, stan* 16932.
: *mani-an, gan* p. p., *an* 16316.
: *slan* p. p., *nan, onan* 15462.

tas pr. [< *tâkes*] : G *pas* C *pass* s. [OFr *pas*] = stage.
ouer-tan p. p. : *ilkan* 576 : *onan* 19693.
: *Iordan* 18478.
: *lan* s. [OSc *lán*] 23883.
: *nan* 301, 3331, 9643.
: *sla(i)n* p. p. 2833, 3763, 7766, 11544, 12692, 14851.
: *stan* s. 1533 : *stan* inf. 10799, 13701.
: *ran* pt. [OE *hrān*], *tan* p. p. *ban, wan* s., *an, ilkan, slan, nan* 15796.
: *wan* adj. [OE *wana*], *onan, nan* 16264.
out-tan p. p. : *an* 764 : *allan* 4368.
: *ban* 20780.
: *nan* 1144, 12115.
undertan p. p. : *Iordan* 17925.
up-tan p. p. : *ilkan* 8046.

§ 122. *a* (in syllables and words with weak or no stress) riming with *ā, â*.

am pr. : *licame* s. 20457.
: *name* s. 5756.
: *scame* s. 14591.

ansuar(e) s. [OE *andswaru*] : *ar* adv. 18025.
: *bar* pt. 13113, 14175, 14752.
: *lare* s. 12107.
: *mare* comp. 19910 : *euermare* 18364.
: *quare* adv. 5854 : *naþur-quare* 12057.
: *sare* adv. 13611.

: *spare* inf. 21455.
: *þar* 14182.
: *war* pt. pl. [OE **wāron* or OSc *váru;* see § 129] 12141, 18958.
: *rar* pr. [OE *rārian*], *lare, spare, forfare, mare* 16104.

knaulage s. : *heritage* 610 : *langage* 18932 : *u(te)trage* 976, 5799 : *ymage* 12372.

lemman s. [OE *lēofman*] : *gan* p. p. 81, 3867, 7110.
: *man* s. = moaning 4346.
: *nan* 9364, 10664.

sal(e) pr. [OE *sceal*] : *bale* s. [OE *bealu*] 13102, 14653, 22647, 24477.
: *dale* s. 1251.
: *duale* [OE *dwala*] 12841.
: *hale* adj. 5112, 11889, 13890, 14769, 18112, 19072.
: *tale* s. 2723, 10980 : *C nigther tale* 2784.
: *wale* s. = choice 7952.

þan adv. : *ouer-gan* p. p. 2639.

CF *þan* : *nan* 13780.

was pt. : *allas* interj. [OFr *alas*] 8718, 10490.
: *ras* pt. [OE *rās*] 1425, 2840, 4436, 14363, 20871, 20932, 23418.
: *fas* s. pl., *allas, cas* s. 16342.
: *Caiphas, pas* s. (= pace), *Iudas*, C *laȝas* FGT *las* [OFr < *las, laz*] = lace, *allas* 15876. *laȝas* in MS. C is a curious scribal error for *las*. Some early manuscript had the spelling *laz,* adopted from the OFr *laz,* a parallel form to *las* > ME *las* = 'lace'; a copyist then misinterpreted the letter *z* as ȝ, a mistake very easily made, because these two letters were very much alike, especially in northern texts, and consequently often confused; see LUICK Hist. Gram § 61. The reading *laȝ*, however, gave no rime, and therefore-*as* was added to obtain a good eye-rime in closer conformity with the other riming words.

wom(m)an s. : *an* 630, 13972, 15710 : *all-an* 13742, 22025 : *ilkan* 13709.
: *euerilkan* 13029 : *onan* 886, 7098, 7646, 14055.
: *gan* p. p. 11341.
: *nan* 885, 2898, 2938, 4425, 24900.
: *slan* p. p. 6717.
: *stan* inf. 185.
: *tan* p. p. 8916 : *mistan* p. p. 913 : *ouertan* 8643.
hand-wom(m)an s. : *an* 2593 C *hand-wimman* : *onan* 10906.
: *nan* 8381.
yoman s. : *an* 3078.
: *gan* p. p. 7822.

The lengthening of a vowel in an unstressed position when the ictus of the metre falls upon it is dealt with in § 107.

The form *maidan* s. [OE *mæʒden*] in the rimes given below may come into this group in those cases when its final syllable has full stress for metrical reasons. The ending *-en* was probably pronounced in common speech with an *ə*-sound with some *a*-timbre in it due to the preceding *-ai-*. When this ending *-ən* was fully stressed because of the metre, this indistinct sound came very near to an *a*. It is to be noted that *maidan* is never recorded with an *e*-rime.

maidan : *an* 9988 : *allan* 10029 : *inan* 9987 : *onan* 19759, 20105.
: *fan* pt. 3309.
: *nan* 78, 10538, 11169.
F *madan* : *stan* s. [OE *stān*] C *maiden* : *sten*.
: C *ouertain* p. p. G *ouertan* p. p. 10788.

The rime *maidan* : *lemman* 10860 may be taken as a rime with short *a*.

§ 123. Short or long *a* is possible in:
GT *Egypcian* CF *Agapcian* : *womman* 2593.
Ananias : *was* pt. 19215, 19657.
Caiphas : *was* pt. 17760.
cristal(e) s. : *sal* pr. 23688.
: *smale* adj. 376. Note that *smale* has a form with long *â* as is established by a rime in § 118.

Damas : *was* pt. 2956.
Egeas : *was* 21002.
gracias : *was* 20369.
Helias : *was* 17687.
Herodias : *was* 13014.
Iohan : *maidan* 24720.
: *womman* 11063, 13049, 20102, 20286.
Ionathas : *was* 7648.
Iosias : *was* 9190.
Iudas : *was* 4182, 5579, 5658, 7849, 21148, 21810.
mak s. [OE *ȝemaca*] : *Isaac* 138 : *Ysaac* 19089.
make inf. : *Ysaac* 3338.
Lucas : *was* 21294.
Micheas : *was* 18353.
Ozias : *was* 9164.
C *saak, sak* [OE *sacu*] : *Isaac* 3120.
Sathanas : *was* 479.
spak pt. : *Isaac* 3127, 3358, 3620, 5033.
take inf. : *Isaac* 3016, 3268, 3514.
under-take inf. : *Ysaac* 3410.
Thebas : *was* 7003.
Thomas : *was* 18679.
trespas s. : *was* 9554.

§ 124. OE *ēa* (by shifting of stress *eā*) : *â*.
ȝape adj. [OE *ȝēap*] : G *ape* s. [OE *apa, ape*] CF (*a*) *nape*.

§ 125. Celtic *á* : *ā*.
FG *rath* s. [OIr *ráth* = a quarter of a year] : *brath* adj. [OSc *bráðr*], *wrath* adj., *lath* adj 16166.

§ 126. The sb. C *byyate* F *beȝate* G *biȝate* : *state* s. This rime points to a long *ā* in *byyate* s. I assume a ground-form ONorth. **beȝeāt*(*e*), a parallel form to OE *beȝēat*(*e*), Orrm's *biȝæte*, which is represented also in C. M. by the form F *biȝete* C *biyett;* see § 305. These two forms in OE go back to WGerm. -**ȝāt-* > Prim. OE -*ȝǣt-*, and, according to LUICK Hist. Gr. § 197, ONorth. *ǣ*

< WGerm. *ā,* which sometimes occurs by the side of the more common *ē* (cfr. *drǣdan* in § 171, *rǣdan* in § 171, *mǣþ* s. in § 309), becomes *ēa* and by shifting of stress occasioned by 3, as is frequently the case, a form *eā* is than developed.

§ 127. The sb. *outrake* s. = 'excess' : *bisuak* pt. [OE *-swāc*] 9578. : *wrake* s. 4134, 6296. NED says about this sb. *outrake* : «corruption of *outrage*?» In this case I should explain the form as having arisen by popular etymology, the OFr *outrage* = 'excess' being analysed as from *ut* + *rage,* which, indeed, occurred, see NED s. v. *outrage,* and *rage* being in this dialect associated with and replaced by the native word *rake* s. = 'run, rush'.

§ 128. The sb. *siquar(e)* = time : *ar* adv. [OSc *ár*] 10904, 11199, 12148, 12302, 22190.
: *char* s. [OFr char] 9162.
: *ute-far* s. = expedition [OE *ut-faru* or *utfær*] 7890.
: *lare* s. 12449.
: *mar* comp. 7048, 7974, 9194, 12385, 19116, 20764.
: *sare* adv. 5655, 11022, 19851.
: *þar* adv. 3866, 13553, 13980, 18948, 20560.
: *war* pt. pl. [*OE *wāron* or OSc *váru;* see next §] 7092, 17302 : pt. subj. 13769, 14504, 19726.

Judging by these numerous rimes there seems to be a long *ā* in *siquar* s. As a possible OE ground-form I assume a form **siþhw(e)arf;* for the further discussion of this form see the Etym. Section. The second part of **siþhw(e)arf* gradually became weak-stressed when one of the three consonants was lost owing to difficulties of pronunciation. Its weak-stressed ME *a* became long when metrically stressed.

§ 129. The pt. pl. *war(e)* [OE *wāron,* see BÜLBR. § 129, but a

derivation from OSc *váru* pt. pl. is also possible]: *ar* adv. 4085, 18846, 19508, 23183.
: *bar* adj. 4574.
: *bar* pt. 5534, 6186, 6328, 6345, 6448, 7903, 8074, 8595, 8666, 11642, 12314, 18405.
: *forbar* pt. 20116.
: *care* s. 5654, GT 10397
: *fare* inf. 11532.
: *forfare* inf. 4966.
: *Ysacar* 3897.
: *misfar* s. 21714.
: *lare* s. 14812.
: *mare* comp. 1419, 4046, 6942, 17569, 21009, 21194, 23539: *innermare* 6199.
: *quare* adv. 4097.
: *schare* pt. [OE *scear* + *-e(n)*] 2696, 4058.

C *warre* pt. pl.: *Sare* 2332.
: *sar* adv. 4725, 24319.
: *Sennar* 2213.
: *þar* adv. 3825, 5491, 8027, 9669, 10650, 17664, 19206, 23274.
: *yare* adj. [OE *ȝearu*] 5225.
: *mare, lare, sare* 15128.

war(e) pt. subj. [by analogy transferred from pt. pl.]: *ar* s. [OE *ār*] 4246.
: *bar* pt. 3635, 4518, 20626.
: *care* s. 4969, 14388.
: *char* s. C *thar* 4658.
: *Eleazar* 2562.
: *fare* inf. 11532.
: *mare* comp. 422, 452, 5866, 9850: *euermare* 4556: *forþermare* 6540: *neuermare* 23178.
: *quare* adv. 9855, 13673.
: *sar* adv. 10279, 12613.
: *þar* adv. 1247, 1290, 6236, 7689, 9295, 11301, 22483, 23502, 24580.
: *bare, namare, fare, care* 15372.
: *car, bar, mar* 16662.
: *þare, mar, scare* pt. 16558.

-*ald*.

§ 130. OAngl. *á* + *ld* in self-rimes.

ald adj. : *bald* adj. 3562, 8335, 12756, EG 21915 : *unbald* 12305, 12351.
: *dublefald* adj. 6758.
: *hald* inf. 13910.
: *sald* p. p. 18586.
: C *taald* p. p. 8766 : *tald* pt. 2993, 5353, 6099, 10588, 10690, 10938, 11273, 12471 : *tald* p. p. 7843, 9223, 9259, 10752, 21752, 22568.

C *alld* adj. : *sald* p. p. 23873.

C *alld* adj. : *tald* pt. 12578. This rime is not mentioned by EILERS.

ald adj. : *yald* pt. 5641, 18207.

bald adj. : *behald* inf. 12242.
: *cald* adj. 23277.
: *hald* s. 9965, 17341, 18211, 18276, 23929, 24095.
: *sald* pt. 13300 : p. p. C 4241.
: *tald* pt. 4933, 7033, 7131, 7193, 11390, 17428, 18217 : p. p. 2675, 3205, 8694, 10549, 13331, 19347, 20742, 20850, 22310.
: *wald* s. 12954.
: *yald* pt., *tald* pt., *sald* p. p. 15970.

bald [OE *b(e)aldian*] inf. : *tald* pt. 7540.

un-bald : *yald* pt. 10765.

cald adj. : *hald* s. 24203.
: *wald* s. 3563.
s. : *tald* pt. 20971 C *inald* : *tald*.

C *caald* : *tald, unbaald, behald* inf. 15910.

fald s. [OE *fald, falod*] : *hald* s. 24267.
: *tald* p. p. 3671, 23876.

thic-fald : *tald* pt. 11257.

thusand-fald : *for-tald* 9858.

hundreth fald : *bald* 109.

fald inf. : *tald* pt. 8965.

fald [OE *f(e)alde(n)*] p. p. : *cald* adj. 24492.

fald s. [from the verb] : *behald* inf. 23452.
hald s. : *tald* p. p. 9349, 10009, 18057.
: *wald* s. 24454.
: *wald* inf. 9957.
hald inf. : *tald* pt. FT 6163 C *cald* pt. : p. p. 9877, 23855.
haldes s. pl. : *waldes* pr. 22873.
sald pt. : *tald* pt. 14726, 14738.
: *up-yald* pt. 19069.
sald p. p. : *tald* p. p. 141, 3517, 4194, 6736, 22327.
: *for-tald* pt. 14553.
: *yald* 19475.
tald pt. : *bald* adj. 18217.
tald p. p. : *bald* adj. 21916.
: *behald* inf. 1331.
: *sald* pt. 8841, 19223.
: *yald* pt., *wald* s., *sald* pt. 17036.
wald s. : *yald* pt. 18044, 18658.
: *sald* p. p. 21918.
: *tald* pt. 2393, G 9481 C *for-tald*.
yald pt. : *tald* pt. 8165, C *yalld* pt. : *tald* pt. 12330, FGT *yald* C *hald* : *tald* pt. 18560.
: *tald* p. p. 209, 21067.

§ 131. OAngl. *á* + *ld* : the weak-stressed *walde* [ONorth. *walde* = would] cfr. Orrm. *wollde*.
cald adj. : *wald* pt. 11705.
hald inf. : *wald* pt. 6903, 7635, 13148, 23415.
withald inf. : *wald* pt. 24578.
hald s. : *wald* pt. 18091.
tald pt. : *wald* pt. 13996, 14096, 18852, 19935.
tald p. p. : *wald* pt. 3329.

§ 132. OAngl. *á* + *ld* riming with the preterite and past participle *calld* [of OSc *kalla*].
hald s. : *cald* pt. 17319.
hald inf. : *cald* p. p. 10263, 10741, C 23195 G *bi-hald* inf. : *calld* p. p. 2651, 23131.

tald pt., p. p. : *cald* 319, 5455 (not in EILERS), 14134, 24382. EILERS wrongly interprets this last example of *cald* as the adjective.

§ 133. *wald* pt. riming with *calld* pt., p. p.
wald pt. : *cald* pt., p. p. 4089, 7199, 8337 (EILERS' assumption that *cald* is an adjective is incorrect) 20242.
: *cald, sald, baald* 15378.

§ 134. OSc *á* + *ld* : OAngl. *á* + *ld*.
scald s. [OSc *skáld*] : *bald* adj. 22030.

This word *scald* is not an adjective, as KALUZA (and EILERS p. 8) consider it to be, but a noun, originating from the OSc *skáld*; see NED. The adjective *scald* had, at this time, the form *scalled*, just as *bald* appeared as *balled* F 3490. The oldest example of *scald* adj. is 1500.

Summary: *cald* pt., p. p. certainly had a short *a* and the weak-stressed auxiliary *wald* pt. presumably had a short *a*, cfr. the form *wollde* in Orrm. EILERS does not come to any definite conclusions about the other words. But it seems to me that the rimes in § 131 prove a short *a* at least in the case of *hald* inf., and probably in *tald* pt., p. p. as well. With regard to *hald* inf. it is proved to have a short *a* in such a careful rimer as Richard Rolle, who also wrote in a northern dialect, and in Roberd of Brunne as well. The quantity of the *a* in the other words is more doubtful.

-and.

§ 135. OE *á* + *nd* riming with itself.
band pt. : *brand* s. 7153.
: *fand* pt. 19305, 24361.
: *hand* s. 7195.
brand s. : *nerhand* adv. 3170.
faand inf. : *sand* s. = message 5770, 6009.

fand pt. : *hand* s. 1469, 3923, 4116, 4915, 4937, 6325, 9838, 12541, 17364, 20743, 21529, 20564, C *faand* pt. : *hand* s. 18292.
: *land* s. 2286, 2302, 2381, 2503, 5543, 5625, C *faand* pt. *land* s. 6041, 7379, 12978, 14164.
: *Estrinland* 11387 : *Ingland* 24946.
: *understand* inf., 6336, 20060, C *faand* pt. : *understand* inf. 7118.

hand s. : *band* pt. 11235.
: *brand* s. 3169, 7223, 8715.
: *land* s. 601, 947, 1869, 2363, 2431, 2445, 2843, 4195, 4661, 4787, 4803, 5291, 5359, 5409, 5852, 5882, 6393, 8754, 9201, 11196, 17997, 18413, 19551, 20389, 22233, 24768.
: *Ingland* 7.
: *sand* s. = sand 680, 5663, 10909, 12527, 13728.
: *sand* s. = message 3691, 6945 : C *saand* 20161.
: *stand* inf. 61, 6411, 8188, 10274, 10956, 11969, 14645, 17131 (C *stan*), 18546, 19439, 19792, 23042, 24032, 24412, 24618: C *stand* s. 1693.
: *strand* s. 6592, 17963.
: *understand* pr. pl. 14206, inf. 338, 8308, 14466, 18690, 20383, 22934.
: *witstand* 6853, 19346.

ouerhand : *land* s. 2507.
: *stand* inf. 6955.

land s. : *understand* s. 9325.
: *understand* pr. 2047, 3251, 4644, 4868, 5557, 5834, 5969, 6175, 16767[42], 17289[324], 18589, 22240.
: *witstand* 7872, C *wit-stan* 19195.

landes pl. : *standes* pr. 1005, 1034.

sand s. = sand : *land* s. 2869.

saand s. = message : *faand* inf. [OE *fandian*] 3953, 7459, 24793 : *fand* inf. 14846.
: *faand* s. 711.
: *land* s. 5099, 5855.

on-sand s. : *faand* inf. 6010.

: *land* 5917.
stand inf. : *fand* pt. 1184 : *faand* pt. 4268.
: *land* s. 1869, 2855, C 6389, 7692, 9690, 23664.
: *hand, understand, land* s. 15924.
stand p. p. : *hand* 8357, 9221.
standes pr. : *handes* pl. 17138.
strand s. : *land* s. 8191, 17923, 22705.
strandes pl. : *landes* pl. 1033.
understand inf. : *Ingland* 236, 24893.
: *ner-hand* adv. 17938.
waand [OE *wandian*] inf. : *faand* inf. 12970, 19253 : *fand* s. [from OE *fandian*] 4334.

§ 136. OSc *a* : OE *á*.
aand s. [OSc *andi*] : *faand* inf. 541.
band s. [OSc *band*] : *fand* pt. 4531, 13204, 19305.
: *hand* s. 4437, 13821, 14142, 20980.
: *land* 22050.
: *stand* 13333, 24545.
: *understand* 23409.
bandes pl. : *handes* pl. 13847.
handband : *hand* 3915, 13428,
waand s. [OSc *vandi*] : *faand* inf. 8465.
: *hand* s. 20665.
: *sand* s. = sending 11517.
wand s. : *fand* pt. 6893, 10770, 21767.
: *hand* s. 2611, 5809, 5819, 6248, 6688, 7863, 10734, 21670, 22266.
: *land* s. 6257, 6273, 6897, 10753.
: *stand* inf. 6321.
: *strand* s. 6392.
: *witstand* 6886.

It is to be noted that the OSc loanwords have undergone lengthening in OE.

§ 137. OE *á* : OFr *a*.
brand s. : *presand* 7587.
fand pt. : *conuenand* 2351.
hand s. : *presand* 6651 : *offrand* [OFr *ofrende*] 11491 : *warand* [OFr *warant*] 14968.

land s. : *couenand* 5427.
: G *taland* C *talent* 3913.
: *offrand* 5771, 5973, 6805, 10276.
stand inf. : *couenand* s. 7483.
: *offrand* 10232.
wit-stand pr. : *warand* s. 18426.
understand pr. : *offrand* s. 10253.
: *warand* s. 14650.

§ 138. OSc *a* in self-rime.
band s. : *wand* s. [OSc *vǫndr*] 1671.

§ 139. OE *á*, OSc *a*, OFr *a*, riming with weak-stressed syllables.
band s. [OSc *band*] : *swelland* 1341.
fand pt. : *chepand* 14723.
: *errand* s. 1293.
: *flet(t)and* 1885.
: *gangand* 12615, C *faand* : *gangand* 4564.
: C *heliand*, G *hailand* s. 13814.
: *helpand* 11059.
: *liggand* 4163.
: *liuand* 4024, 21380.
: *husband* s. 11269, 13401.
: *rinnand* 7803.
: *sekand* 22902.
: *slepand* 7716.
: *soiurnand* 5044.
: C *waitand* 13285.
: *tiþand* s. 10993, 12784.
faand pt. : *walcand* 13774.
: *weldand* 13313.
: *wonnand* 14081.
: *hand*, *tiþand*, *ȝernand* 15400.
hand s. : *dredand* 10226, 10679.
: *errand* 19893.
: *etand* 6088.
: *honurand* 19923.
: *knauand* 940.

: *lastand* 21650, 23714.
: *lendand* 22053.
: *litand* 2821.
: *liuand* 3313, 22823.
: *praiand* 19394.
: *standand* 12015.
: *untelland* 6441.
: *tiþand* s. 3847, 5141.
: *þusand* num. 6636, 7603.
: *walcand* 7530.
: *weldand* 4261, 7492, 17579, 18806 : *al-weldand, understand, land* 16424.
: *womman* (ass.) 11063.
: *dutand, understand, land* 15184.
: *liuand, understand, lastand* 15312.

nerhand adv. : *husband* 11130.
: *tiþand* 14247.

undir-hand : *lastand* 7058.

land s. : *dredand* 13164.
: *duelland* 4079, 6234.
: *fleand* 23472.
: *foluand* 4599.
: *hingand* 11667.
: *husband* s. 4385, 10805, 12661.
: *lastand* 2661, 4188, 4758, 9118, 18395,
: *ligand* 6130.
: *liuand* 4847.
: *regnand* 11922.
: *rennand* 7156.
: *scinand* 21606.
: *tiþand* s. 5241, 12013.
: *þusand* num. 4710, 7067, 13345.
: *wakand* 11421.
: *weldand* 2385, 2537, 4943, 5206.
: C *wonand* 3230.

offrand s. : *praiand* 17719.
: *al weldand* 1939 : C *allweldand* 10582.

saand s. = message : *tuentiand* ord. 10925.

seruand s. [OFr *servant*] : *weldand* 3118, 5843.
stand inf. : *duelland* 391.
: *husband* 10497, 19256.
: *lastand* 125, 22252, 23682, 24960.
: *stirand* 23590.
: *warriand* 19602.
: *wonnand* 8664.
understand inf., pr. : *errand* 13090.
: *husband* 3845.
: *lastand* 305, 23296.
: *mistruand* 9268, 11365.
: *unwitand* 19099.
witstand inf. : *errand* 20659.
: *lastand* 6975, 22388.
: *weildand* 18005.
strand s. : *foluand, hauntand, fand* pt. 15740.
strand = progeny, race : *errand* 9498.
: *husband* 10157.

§ 140. *a* in weak-stressed syllables riming with itself.
husband s. : *gangand* 10897.
: *tiþand* s. 10417.
fortiand ord. : *þusand* num. 1465.
lastand : *duelland* 12590.
lutand : *standand* 4061.
stincand : *mistruand* 23110.
tiþand : *liuand* 4192, C *tyþand* : *mislikand* 2513.
þusand num. : *gangand* 2005.
: *lastand* 11579.
weldand : *praiand* 18034.
ilwilland : *ligand* 6829.
unwittand : *gaderand* 12526.

The words riming with the OFr loanwords all have short *a*. The following words seem to contain long *a* : *aand* s., *faand* s., *faand* v., *waand* v. and perhaps *saand* s., because they are only rimed with each other or with weak-stressed *-and,* an ending which can be lengthened in the metre, but they are never combined with OFr loanwords.

-ang.

§ 141. OE *á* + *ng* riming with itself.

amang prep., adv. : *lang* adv. 13376, C *e-mang* : *lang* 10209, 20172.
: *sang* s. 87, 6285, 7602, 20578, 20678.
: *sang* pt. 18378.
: *strang* adj. 2113, 2525, 6495.
: *thrang* s. 2451, 21867.
fang s. : *lang* adv. 4802.

fang pt. [formed on the analogy of *hang* inf.—*hang* pt., see below]
: *lang* adv. 17723.

underfang inf. [from p. p. *fangen*] : *lang* adv. 1541, 10353.
: *strang* adj. 22308.
pt. : *sang* s. 1520.
: *strang* adj. 19565.
gang s. : *lang* adj. 5191.

gang inf. pr. [OE *gángan*] : *underfang* pt. 5639.
: *lang* adj. adv. 949, 3627, 6683, 11299, FG *gang* C *gan* inf. : *lang* adv. 13267 : FG *lang* C *long* 11741.
: *strang* adj. 19299, 20727.
: *thrang* s. 2621.

hang inf. pr. [OE *hángian*] : C *omang* prep. 14387.
: *fang* s. 18234.
: *lang* adj., adv. 4491, 5015, 12217, 17676.

hang pt. [of *hing* inf. < OSc *hengja* (see § 348.), assimilated to class III of strong verbs] : *lang* adv. 19845.
: *strang* adj. 18104, 24100.
: *thrang* s. 12072.
: *wrang* pt. 4469, 18887.

lang adj. [OE *ȝelång*] : *strang* adj. 8428. EILERS has confused this *lang* = 'depending' with the following word.

lang adj. adv. : *strang* adj. 1441, 1597, 2747, 3415, 7449, 8942, 10084, 14405, 21004, 21234, 23018.

lang inf. [OE *lángian*] : *sang* s. 1030. *lang* is not mentioned in the infinitive form by KALUZA in his Glossary. EILERS has misapprehended it and puts it under the adv. *lang*.

sang s. : *lang* adv. 7434, 20190, 20582, 21190.
: *strang* 18346.
slang pt. : *suang* pt. 21142.
sprang pt. : *strang* 4702, 7125.
stang pt. : *lang, sang, strang* 17056.
suang pt. : *gang* inf. 19356.
thrang s. : *utgang* inf. 5998.
: *sprang* pt. 5477.
: *suang* pt. 9102.
thrang pt. : *lang* adj. 24640.

§ 142. OSc *a* + *ng* : OE *á* + *ng*.
stang s. [from *stang* inf. < OSc *stanga*] = sting : *amang* 693.
: *hang* pt. 21689.
: *strang* 18115, 20959.
stang s. [OSc *stǫng*] : *strang, lang, fang* s. 15440.
wrang adj. [OSc *vrangr*] : *amang* 5689, 12443, 13907.
: *gang* inf., pr. 13723, 19338.
: *hang* inf. 17315.
: *hang* pt. 20541.
: *lang* adv. 17331, 17458.
: *lang* adj. [OE *ȝelang*] 6029.
: *sang* pt. 21254.
: *slang* pt. 8929.
: *sprang* pt. 1599.
: *stang* pt. 24357.
: *strang* 4075, 4429, 24073.
: *thrang* 2586, 18970.
: *fang* s., *strang, hang* pt., *wrang* pt., *thrang* 16498.
: *hang* inf., *wrang* pt., *thrang* 16646.
: *rang* pt., *hang* pt., *amang, lang, sang* s., *gang* inf., *thrang* 15038.
: *suang* pt., *ute-wrang* pt., *thrang, hang* inf. 16440.
: *thrang* s., *amang, hang* inf., *lang* 15342.
: *thrang* s., *gang* inf., *amang* 15448.

The OSc loanwords, too, have undergone the OE lengthening.

§ 143. OSc *a* + *ng* in self-rime.
stang s. [OSc *stǫng*] : *wrang* 21144.

§ 144. *a* + *ng* : *a* + *nd*.
lang adv. : CG *land* s. 2492 (ass.). F has the common pleonastic phrase *I understand* for the sake of the rime.
strang adj. : CF *land* s. 2396 (ass) G has the reading *I understand*.
thrang s. : *hingand* pr. p. F *land* 13705 (ass.).

It has already been proved in § 137 that *a* in *land* s. is short, and the first two assonances accordingly point to a short *a* in *lang* adv. and *strang* adj. The third assonance is more uncertain, as the ending *-and* of the present participle can be weak-stressed and therefore acquire a long *a* when metrically stressed. Probably in other cases of *a* + *ng* there existed a shortened *a*, although this is not shown by assonances. We must, however, bear in mind that assonances were of course avoided as much as possible by a careful rimer. EILERS mentions these assonances in a note on pp. 18, 19, where he says that the rimes are incorrect and that the other MSS give no information how to emend the first two examples. In dealing with the *-ang*-rimes he does not pay any attention to these assonances. Consequently he is unable to draw any conclusion merely from the *ang*-rimes.

-rd.

§ 145. OE *á* + *rd* riming with itself.
hard adj. adv. [ONorth. *hard(e)*] : *forward* s. [ONorth. *foreward*] 21425.
: *stiward* s. 4919, 5525.
: *ward* s. 18269, C *herd* : *ward* s. 19483.
C *fulhard* : *after-ward* adv. 7619, C *herd* : *efterward* 19378.

C *herd* : *forward* 14904.
: *forþerward* 5480, C *herd* : *forþerward* 19181.
C *herd* : *heuenward* 21343.
: *quiderward* 24089, C *herd* : *quider-ward* 23735.
forward s. : *stiward* 4243.
orchiard [OE *ortʒ(e)ard*] : *inward* adv. 8199.
C *orcherd* : *forward* adv. 11695.
ward s. : *stiward* 10342.
aftir-ward : *stiward* 7054.
forþerward : *forward* s. 13959.
: *yate ward* s. 13327.
þiderward : *forward* s. 2403, FGT 3241, 20735.
yateward s. : *wyderward* adv. 1245.

§ 146. OE *á* + *rd* : OFr *a* + *rd*.
hard (*herd*) adj., adv. : *bastard* s. 24765.
: *cuward* s. [OFr *cuard*] 2376.
fraward adj. : C *ougard* F *awgard* [AN *award, agara*] 7317.
ward s. : *bastard* 7041.
: *lepard* 11637.

§ 147. OE *á* + *rd* : OFr *a* + *rt*.
efterward adv. : *part* s. [OFr *part*] 21614 (ass.).
hiderward adv. : *part* s. 262 (ass.).

§ 148. OFr *a* + *rd* : OFr *a* + *rt*.
bastard : C *partd* s. [OFr *part*] 3027 (ass.).
Short *a* is proved at least in the cases where assonances with OFr *a* + *rt* occur.

-rn.

§ 149. OE *á* + *rn* riming with itself.
barn s. : *warn* s. 11133.
: *warn* inf. pr. 2564, 2627, 2725, 3040, 3261, 3625, 10934, 11418, 11594, 11958, 12172, 12454, 17733, 22342.

§ 150 OE *á* + *rn* : OSc *a* + *rn*.

barn s. : EG *þarn* inf. [OSc *þarna, þarfna*] 24591. This case is omitted by EILERS, who only gives rimes occurring in MS. C. In this passage, however, C has the incorrect reading *warn* instead of *þarn*.

§ 151. OE *á* + *rn* : *a* + *rn* syncopated.

barn s. : *forfarn* p. p. 1231, 6693, 8607, 11557, 20050.

warn inf. : *farn* p. p. 11911.

§ 152. The pret. pl. *warn* [OE **wāron* or OSc *váru*] : *a* + *rn* syncopated.

warn pt. pl. : *forfarn* p. p. 4759.

EILERS says, p. 40, that short *a* is established in *barn* s. and *warn* inf. by the rimes with the syncopated p. p. *forfarn* and *farn*. But these p. ps. may quite as well contain a long *a* if they had been syncopated after the lengthening of *a* in open syllables : OE *forfaren* > *forfâren* > *forfârn;* see MORSB. pp. 103, 106. The last rime with *warn* pt. may indicate an *ā*-rime, but it is just as probable that *warn* pt. may be weak-stressed and thus obtain a short *a,* as in the case of *wern, wer,* the latter of which is sometimes found with weak stress; see § 246. We cannot state any certain results. It is, however, to be noted that *þarn* inf. is recorded in Orrm. with the spelling *þarrnenn* alone.

-*āst.*

§ 153. OE *ā* + *st* riming with itself.

gast s. : *mast* sup. 206, 1385, 4014, 7435, 12645, 20667, 20821, 24435.

mast sup. : *formast* sup. 433.

§ 154. OE *ā* + *st* : OFr *a* + *st* > *āst.*

formast [OE *formest* sup. but influenced by *māst* sup.] : *haste* s. 5588, 17869.

(*hali*)*gast* s. : *haste* s. 17915, 18716, 18758, 19143, 19545.

: *tast* s. 11327: inf. 18939.
: *wast* adj. 18890.
alþer-mast sup. : *wast* inf. 252, 19497.

§ 155. OFr *ast* in self-rime.
tast inf. : *haste* s. 13403.

In all these cases *a* is long. For further *-ast*-rimes see the short rimes in §§ 20—26.

ē.

In the following cases it is certain that we have rimes containing close *ē*. When the *ē* arises from:

1. Prim OE *ē*.
2. OE *ē* by *i*-mutation of *ō*.
3. OAngl. *ē* (= WS *īe* by *i*-mutation of *ēa* and *-eah*).
4. OE *ēo*.
5. OAngl. *īo, ēo* without *i*-mutation.
6. OAngl. *ē* by Ebnung and contraction.
7. OSc *ē, ø*.
8. OSc *iú*.

ē(s).

§ 156. Close *ē* of the above-mentioned groups 1—8 in self-rimes.
be inf., pr. : *fee* s. [OAngl. *fē(s)* in oblique cases] 11242.
: *fle* inf. [OE *flēon*] 3002, 11151, 20262, 21245, 21339.
: *he* pron. 1358, 2060, 2542, 2634, 3859, 4640, 4732, 4926, 6050, 6492, 6756, 7733, 9263, 9278, 9315, 10205, 10829, 10885, 10983, 11353, 11968, 12248, 12451, 12653, 12904, 13518, 14517, 14548, 17308, 17551, 17984, 18853, 21966, 22065, 22807, 23401, 24819.
: *kne* s. [OE *cnēo(w)*] 11612, 22664.
: *me* pron. 879, 1125, 2557, 3150, 3546, 3745,

3991, 4844, 4988, 5298, 5675, 6455, 7327, 8387, 9691, 10661, 12252, 12627, 12843, 12860, 13109, 13543, 13643, 14268, 14592, 14636, 14710, 18422, 19680, 20557, 20575, 20592, 20601, 20664, 23173.

: *se* inf. pr. [OE *sēon*] 289, 381, 3058, 4882, 8706, 9320, 9420, 10304, 10717, 12203, 12411, 13678, 18297, 18695, 18816, 19784, 20090, 20163, 20284, 20318, 20522, 23026, 23108, 23229, 23244, 23344, 23383, 23435, 23607, 23661.

: *þe* pron. [OE *þē*] 59, 640, 895, 914, 1148, 1273, 1691, 1706, 2373, 2565, 2674, 2836, 2940, 3269, 3438, 3707, 4351, 4415, 4481, 4494, 6816, 7867, 8725, 10272, 10529, 10840, 10861, 12119, 12508, 12795, 17670, 20100, 20158, 20374, 20411, 20431, 20480, 20632, 20643, 20652, 21458, 22107, 22842, 23530, 23537, 23911, 24285.

: *we* 1877, 13634, 19148, 19316, 19978, 23003, 23269, 24722.

: *tre* s., *he*, C *þie* s. [OAngl. *þē(s)* in oblique cases] 16830.

fee s. : *he* pron. 1060, 4101, 5692.

: *me* 3099.

: *se* inf. 4084, 6004.

fle inf. pr. : *me* 7577.

: *se* inf. pr. 2817, 14884, 22573, 23868.

: *thre* 11588.

: *tre* s. 3055.

: *þe* pron. 4311, 24176.

fre adj. [OE *frēo*] : *be* 3864, 6992, 17210, 18984, 19945, 20020.

: *he* 9630, 24048.

: *me* 3240, 24564.

: *se* 664, 675.

: *tre* s. 5923.

: *þe* pron. 20619.

gle s. [OE *glēo(w)*] : *he* 17874.

: *me* 24521.

: *se* 23323.
: *tre* 21538.
: *þe* 24646.
he pron. : CF *he* 19986.
: *kne* 11681.
: *me* 3129, 5757, 5937, 13889, 18028.
: *tre* 1319, 6323, 8242, 8451, 17773.
: *three* 182, 364, 5859, 9762, 10390.
: *we* 14784, 18728, 19004.
: *þe* pron. 5065, 5507, 12961, 13383, 19819.
kne s. : *se* inf., pr. 9254, 11352.
: *þe* pron. 5427, 10512.
se inf., pr. : *he* 620, 2024, 2030, 2634, 2922, 3356, 5047, 6242, 12780, 13444, 13558, 14212, 19647.
: *me* 4404, 4568, 5152, 5263, 5335, 7319, 8366, 11477, 12373, 13572, 14101, 14677, 17129, 20273, 24122, 24261.
: *tre* s. 33, 5737, 6047, 8040, 8249, 8486, 8854, 8881, 8910, 12399, 14900, 21576, 21608, 21687, 24443.
: *thre* 6054, 9894, 21618, 22506.
: *þe* pron. 1720, 1976, 2411, 11041, 13625, 14311, 14328, 17143, 17206, 17661, 19687, 20289, 20313, 21392.
: *we* 5178, 8096, 11267, 21884.
: *he, be, me* 15272.
tre s. [OE *trēo*] : *be* 780, 1019, 4157, 8781, 8939, 9394, 9501, 11728, 12403, 17936, 21536.
: *me* 17157, 17208, 18295, 20253, 20335, 20525, 20550, 24063, 24256.
: *þe* 40, 11671, 11712, 17154, 18220, 18264, 20074.
: *þre* 8460, 21741.
: *we* 761.
: *be, se, þre* 16576.
: *he, me, se* 16698.
: *me, se, be, þe* 16366.
apell tre : *se* 2877.
: *thre* 1374.

axel-tre : *be* 21267.
rod(e)-tre : *be* 21496.
: *se* 1609.
þe s. [OAngl. *þē(s)* in oblique cases] : *he* 3941.
þe pron. [OE *þē*] : *me* 958, 1156, 1633, 2609, 2985, 8646, 9084, 9730, 12201, 12848, 13151, 13316, 20094, 20218, 20307, 20327, 20380, 20688.
: *thre* 1653, 14341, 20173, 20186.
: F *þe* 20198 C *te*.
: *we* 9066, 12803, 13905.
thre num. [OE *þrēo*] : *be* 429, 574, 1633, 3155, 6337, 9226, 9686, 9836, 10032, 17762, 19496, 19885.
: C *kne* 5603.
: *me* 5842, 8549, 9682, 11483.
: *wintre* 4466.
: *we* 17742.
we : *me, he, fre, be, þe* 15762.
yee pron. : *be* 4877, 18458.
: *he* 13601, 14222, 14623, 14628, 17384.
: *me* 4729, 7386, 20409.
: *se* 12367, 13119, 13684, 17420, 18385.
: *þe* 11880.
: *thre* 1873, 19899.
bes pr. : C *seis* pr. FG *ses* 4507.
ses pr. : *knes* pl. 14293.
C *seés* pr. : *tres* pl. 862.
tres pl. : *knes* pl. 8042.

§ 157. Close *ē* in groups 1 – 8 : OFr *e*, Lat. *e*.
be inf., pr. : *charite* 100, 20248.
: *chastite* 10692, 11172, 11211, 21201.
: *cite* 11446, 17424.
: *cuntre* [AN *cuntree*] 4931, 7687 : *contre* 2414, 3217, 17514, 18963.
: *dignite* 22249.
: *Iesse* 7346.
: *Iude* 11466.
: *meigne* [OFr *mainee*] 13367.

: *natiuite* 24927.
: *Noe* 1490.
: *pite* [OFr *pitee*] 9562.
: *plente* [OFr *plenté*] 22326, 23460.
: *pouste* 6507.
: *sauuete* 10336.
: *semble* s. [OFr *semblé*] 14489.
: *Sylee* 13550.
: *trinite* 273, 569, 2291, 23484.
: *vilete* 20537.
: *wirginite* 24681.
fe s. : *meine* s. 11679.
: *plente* 4037, 5685.
fle inf. : *cuntre* 9074.
: *Gelboe* 7756.
fre adj. : *bounte* 9531.
: *caitifte* 18191, 23626.
: *charite* 10001.
: *cite* 23354.
: *contre* 5968.
: *Galile* 10818.
gle s. : *uanite* 54.
he pron. : *ave* 18594.
: *bunte* 12674.
: *charite* 12100, 19062.
: *cite* 1503, 3253, 9095, 20993.
: *contre* 5484, 11126.
: *dignite* 329.
: *entre* 3801.
: *Galile* 13252, 17426.
: *Iesse* 10190,
: *Iosue* 6993.
: *Iude* 11923.
: *Mambre* 2705.
: *Manasse* 5438.
: *Metusale* 1484.
: *pite* 12497, 21908.
: *pouerte* 11310.

: *pouste* 9015.
: *priue* adj. 4630.
: *priuete* 3221, 7685, 11142.
: *Siloe* 13570.
: *trinite* 9400.
: *cite, me, be, se* 16650.
: *pite, yee, be, me, se* 15652.
me : *charite* 17175, 20463.
: *chastite* 10876.
: *cite* 10544.
: *cruelte* 18070.
: *cuntre* 5212.
: *leute* [OFr *leuté*] = loyalty 4365.
: *meigne* 20596.
: *pite* 5039, C 9588, 23164.
: *priuete* 4347.
se(*e*) inf., pr. : *bounte* 10634.
: *cite* 3277, 11746, 12981.
: *contre* 2468.
: *degre* 10600.
: *entre* 13078.
: *Galile* 14861, 17385.
: *Iesse* 7383, 9282.
: *Iude* 14566.
: *leute* s. 13602.
: *Noe* 1987.
: *pite* 5627, 5715, 8064.
: *plente* 6519, 12328.
: *priuete* 19058, 23193.
: *me, be, sauuete* 15144.
: *meigne, be, me, yee, glee* 15546.
tre : *Noe* 21661.
: *plente* 11684.
: *quantite* 8816.
the inf. [OE *þēon*] : *plente* 5150.
þe pron. : *charite* 20848, F 19635.
: *contre* 2658.
: *pite* 9584, 9740, 20231.

: *pouste* 5295.
: *priuete* 2737, 17854.
: *quantite* 12408.
: *valee* 20695.
: C *vilete* 20340.
: *se, be, Iesse* 15072.
thre : *Assene* 2185.
: *Caiphe* 18493.
: *Cleophe* 12549.
: *chastite* 10024.
: FGT *degre* C *kne* 5604.
: *Iudee* 17478.
: *meine* s. 11598.
: *natiuete* 11383.
: *Noe* 136, 1423, 1627.
: *pite* 9717, 13476.
: *plente* 2011.
: *priue* adj. 6939.
: *Sale* 2162.
: *trinite* 288, 563, 2707, 23605.
: *unite* 6341.
we : *contre* 13930.
: *maieste* 17859.
: *semble* s. 13680.
yee : *cherite* 10186.
: *cuntre* 4890.
: *Galile* 18773.

§ 158. OFr, Lat. *e* in self-rimes.
FGT *bounte* C *beute* : *trinite* 130.
chastite : *pite* 10188.
cite s. : *auctorite* 21598.
: *Cenophe* 14563.
: *contre* 2108.
: *cristianite* 2125.
: *dignite* 11469.
: *Galilee* 10164, 10825, 11925.
: *meyne* s. [OFr *meyné*] 2819 : C *menyeie* 2362.

: *semble* s. 12584, 13850.
: *solempnite* 13874.
contre s. : *entre* s. 13258.
: *Galile* 13360, 14559, 14786.
: *Iesse* 10731.
: *Iude* 14158.
: *meigne* s. 4260, C *cuntré* : C *menyeie* F *meine* 2362.
: *pite* 4744.
: *semble* 10688, 10745.
: *he, Galilee, be, se* inf. 16154.
: *tre, se* inf., *assemble* 16606.
mande s. [OFr *mandé*] = Maunday : *meigne* 21611.
F *maugre* s. : *priuete* 7144.
FGT *meine* C *meigne* : *Bersabe* 3208.
CFGT *meine* : *Noe* 1916.
CG *meigne* FT *meyne* : *plente* 20580.
mone s. [AN *munee*] : *he, priue, me, yee, se* inf. 16478.
pite : C *menge* FGT *meyne* 1861.
: *bunte, þe, be, tre, se* inf. 17086.
priue adj. : *Bersabe* 8341.
: *contre* 3005.
priuete : *unleute* 7136.
FGT *see* C *fee* : *Mambre* 2482.
semble : *Iosue* 6408.
: *natiuete* 13186.
Thare : *Noe* 2176.
Zebede : *Galilee* 12698.

§ 159. The sb. *se* [OE *sǣ*] = sea : *be* inf. 382, 2347, 2862, 11736.
: *entre* s. [OFr *entré*] 22570.
: *he* pron. 6506, 21081.
: *liuere* [OFr *liveré*] 2121.
: *se* inf. 707, 2572, 21865, 24836.
: *yee* pron. 11793.

LUICK in his Unters. § 350 considers such rimes with *sē* inaccurate, and their occurrence is accounted for by the dearth of words ending in *ē*.

-ēch.

§ 160. OE *ǣ*[2] < WGerm. *ā* : OE *ǣ*[1] < WGerm. *ai* influenced by *i*-umlaut.

lech s. : *teche* inf. 21204.

inf. [Orrm. *læchenn*] : *reche* 24465.

§ 161. OE *ǣ*[2] : OFr *e*.

leche inf. : *preche* inf. 176.

§ 162. OE *ǣ*[1] : OFr *e*.

teche : *preche* 13251, 18710, 20008.

The rimes in § 162 point to *ę̄* in *teche*, but whether *leche* really has *ę̄* or owing to the scarcity of rimes is rimed with *prech, tech, rech* is uncertain. Northern poets such as Richard Rolle and Douglas, who are careful in their rimes, never rime OE *ǣ*[2] : OE *ǣ*[1] or : OFr *e*.

§ 163. OE *ǣ*[1] : OE *ǣ*.[1]

reche [OE *rǣčan*] : *teche* [OE *tǣčan*] 3649.

: C *be teche* GT *beteche* [OE *betǣčan*] 5307.

-ēd(es).

§ 164. Close *ē* of the above-mentioned groups 1—8 rimed inter se.

bede inf. [OE *bēodan*] : *lede* [OE *lēode*] 21384.

: *mede* 17437.

: *nede* s. 17582, 19443.

for-bede inf., pr. : *led* [OE *lēode*] 19025, 19975.

pres. subj. : *lede* [OE *lēode*] 7498, 8994 (see the discussion below).

: *ned* 4825.

forbedes pr. : *ledes* s. pl. [OE *lēode*] 19929.

brede inf. : *sped* inf. 1914.

: *lede* s. [OE *lēode*] 1931.

fede inf. : *lede* s. [OE *lēode*] 5411.

: *mede* s. 5638, 23072, 23880.

gnede adj. [perhaps OAngl. *gnēde* < Germ. **ʒa-naudjo*, see NED]

: *mede, unspede, nede* 15424.

: *nede* s. 13384.
lede s. [OE *lēode*] : *mede* s. 24966.
: *thede* s. [OE *þēod*] 4410.
: *yede* pt. 20904.
nede s. : *bede* [OE *bēodan*] 14580, 14913, 19678.
: *brede* inf. 2946.
: *fede* inf. 13320, 19067.
nede : *ledē* s. [OE *lēode*] 19489, 19863.
: *mede* 3738.
: *ȝede* pt. 10620, 10811, 19505, C *ȝedd* 10300.
: *spede* inf. 243, 21304.
adv. : *spede* inf. 9493, 24450.
sped inf. : *lede* s. [OE *lēode*] 21516.
: *med* s. 2556.
: *ned* s. 244.
: *wede* inf. [OE *wēdan* < **wōdjan*] 11547.
: *yede* pt. 10555.
un-spede s. : *brede* inf. 10468.
vede pt. [OE *ȝeēode*] : *lede* s. [OE *lēode*] 10946, 12595.
: *thede* s. [OE *þēod*] 11104.
wede [OE *wēdan* < *wōdjan*] : *lede* s. [OE *lēode*] 19124.

I consider the rime C *godd him forbedd,* F *god him forbede,* G *that god him forbedd* : C *lede,* F *lede,* G *ledd* [< *lēode*] 8994 as a rime containing *ē* : *ē*. *Forbede* is the pres. subj. form. The spelling *forbedd* is misleading and the parenthetical expression *God him forbede* ought to have been put within commas in the text.

§ 165. OE *æ*[2] : close *ē* in groups 1—8.
ded s. : *forbede* inf. 1106, 3204, pres. subj. 7724.
: *brede* inf. 10874.
: *lede* s. [OE *lēode*] 1746, 9061, 18707, 23066.
: *med* s. 751, 4905, 6778, 7932, 11523, 20036, 20873, EG 23919 C *spede*.
: *ned* s. 14106, 23123: adv. 24456 : *nede, bede* pr., *forbede* pr. 15320.
: *spede* inf. 223, 8228, 8787, 13539, C 23919 G *mede*.
: *thede* s. 4483.
: *yede* pt. 7404.

: *weede* pr. 3750.
: *spede, forbede, mede, gnede, nede* 17220.
: *yede, wede* inf. *nede* 16010.

FGT *dede* C *dide* : C *ȝeide* FGT *ȝede* 1085.

dedes s. pl. : *medes* 13356.
: *wedes* pr. pl. 12054.

C *dedis* : *nedis* 1227.

mis-dede s. : *under-yede* pt. 9113.

drede s., inf. = dread : *lede* s. [OE *lēode*] 2405, 5219, 12067, *dred* = fear (God) : *lede* 3121, 8225.
: *mede* s. 19270, 23602, C *dride* = fear (God): *mede* 271.
: *nede* s. 2553, 3996, 7502, 12442, 20236, 22607, 23773, *dred* = fear (God) : *nede* s. 4441.
: *spede* 22183.

dredes pr. = fears (God) : *medes* s. pl. 3190.
: *wede* inf. 13035.

rede s. = speech, story : *lede* s. [OE *leode*] 24582.
: *ned* s. 4635.

rede inf., pr. = read, tell : *bede* inf. [OE *bēodan*] 10635 24810.
: *bred* inf. 2570, 22005.
: *lede* s. [OE *lēode*] 234, 2653, 4039, 6517, 8890, 20064.
: *med* s. 2325, 10124.

rede = read, tell : *ned* s. 22796, 23983, 24737 : adv. 18880.
: *sped* inf. 4785, 14927, 21347, 22809, 24751.
: *un-spede* 4229.
: *thede* s. [OE *þēod*] 4178.
: *yede* pt. 13879, 20881, 21675.

redis pr. = reads : *medis* 20045.
: *nedis* 23943.

rede = make out the meaning or significance of : *mede* 7122.
: *spede* inf. 4553.

sed s. : *brede* inf. 638, 2343, 6870, 9788. 19021 : C *bredd* inf. 5574, C *side* : *brede* inf. 12275.
: *fede* inf. 21302.
: *gnede* adj. 5389.
: *lede* s. [OE *lēode*] 10284.

: *ned* s. 897, 2155, 2399, 4740, 5407, 6377, 7694.
: *spede* 23850.
: *yede* 12324, 21226.
: *wed* [OE *wēod*] 1139.
wede s. [OAngl. *wēde*] : *lede* s. [OE *lēode*] 3341, 19464.
: *nede* 19777.

§ 166. OE *æ*² : OE *æ*².
ded s. : *dred* inf. 8570.
: *mede, rede* = tell, *lede* s., *bede* [OE *bēodan*], *thede* 15484.
drede inf. = dread : *brede* inf., *sede, lede* s., *rede* = tell 22460.
: *brede* inf., *sede, lede* s. 16408.
: *red* inf. = tell 22743.
rede = read, tell : *ded* s. 11581, 22972, 23853.
: *dred* inf. = dread 22459, 22744.
: *mis-dede* 4446.
: *sed* s. 597, 4689, 5487, 8525, 10935, 21976
: C *seed* 4026 : C *side* 10261.
: *dred, rede* [OE *hrēod*], *wede* = clothes 16624.
: *lede* s., *ded* s., *mede, bede* pr., *thede* s. 15482.
: *nede* s., *yede, dede* s., *wede* inf., *lede* s. 16016.
redis pr. : *dedis* pl. 41.
wede s. [OAngl. *wēde*] : *rede* [OE *hrēod*], *rede* inf. = tell, *drede* 16620.

§ 167. OE *æ*¹ < WGerm. *ai* by *i*-mutation : close *ē* in groups 1—8.
brede = breadth : C *bred* inf. 2129, FG *sprede*.
: *un-gnede* adj. [OAngl. *gnēde*] 9934.
: *lede* s. [OE *lēode*] 22385, 23149.
: *yede, spede, nede, lede* [OE *lēode*] 16600.
lede inf., pr. : *bede* [OE *bēodan*] 12731, 19609.
: *brede* inf. 11472.
: *fede* inf. 2401, 5634, 18443.
: *forbede* pr. 7498.
: *lede* s. [OE *leode*] 14406, C *ledd* inf. : C *ledd* s. 14406.
: *med* s. 8353, 12761.
: *ned* s. 8560, 9018.
: *sped* 9608, 18277.

C *ledd* : C *thedd* s. [OE *þēod*] 7299.
: *yede* 6969, 11632, 12029, 19322.
: *wan-spede* 23707.
: *wede* [OE *wēdan* < **wōdjan*], *nede, lede* [OE *lēode*], *bede* [OE *bēodan*] 16278.
lede s. [from the verb] : *forbede* pr. 1956 : pr. subj. 19861.
: *thede* s. 13761.
: *yede* pt. 11347.
sprede inf. : *brede* inf. 227.
: *forbede* pr. subj. 17435.
: *lede* [OE *lēode*] 20943, 22336.
: C (*k*)*nede* 2447 G *nededе*, T *nede*. *knede* is a scribal error for *nede* inf.
: *nede* s. 3792 : adv. 1222.
: *yede* 21161.
apostel-hed : *lede* s. [OE *lēode*] 21220.
bishop-hed : *forbede* 19330.
blissed-hedis : *medis* 23372.
: *nedis* 23475.
cursedhede : *yede* 6544.
doghtyhede : *nede* 848.
dughtihede : *lede* [OE *lēode*] 2954, 10166.
: *mede* s. 10350.
fairhede : *lede* [OE *lēode*] 5648, 23404.
: *wede* inf. 2407, C *wide* 13975.
goddhed : *brede* inf. 22072.
: *nede* adv. 17862.
haithen-hede : *lede* [OE *lēode*] 7023.
: *thede* 21098.
halyhede : FG *lede* [OE *lēode*] C *sede* 2329.
haliheid : *nede* adv. 1439.
iuhede [< *Jew* + *hede*] : *lede* [OE *lēode*] 4248.
lauerdhed : *lede* [OE *lēode*] 9488, 21858, 22318.
: *nede* s. 4837, 9820.
maidenhede : *lede* [OE *lēode*] 1189.
manhed : *ned* s. 12928.
preisthede : *lede* [OE *lēode*] 21695.
soþhedes : *forbedes* 19194.

C *thainhede* : *bede* pr. 5403.
C *thainhede* : C *thede* 5792.
C *truthhede* G *treuth-hede* F *trewhede* : *mede* s. 4424.
wickedhede : *lede* [OE *lēode*] 2454.
: *nede* s. 1141.

These rimes prove that OE *ǣ*[1] + *d*, including the suffix *-hed*, had a close pronunciation.

§ 168. OE *ǣ*[1] : OE *ǣ*[2].
lede inf. : *dede* s. 6865.
: *dred* s. 5767, 17822, 19902.
: *rede* pr. = read 6463, 8543.
: *sede* s. 4936, 5229.
lede : *fede, mede, dede* s. 15258.
leaes pr. : *dedes* s. pl. 12799, 21341.
ledes : *dedes, fedis, medis* 17190.
sprede : *rede* = read 2322, 12655.
spredis : *redis* = tells, *bedis, nedes* 17196.
C *barnhide* F *barn-hedde* : *red* = tell 11927.
barn-hedis : *dedis* 166.
broiþerhede : *dede* 1161.
fair-hede : *rede* = read 22837.
goddhede : *dede* 18508.
halihede : *dede* s. 3402.
lauerdhed : *red* = tell 9549.
maidenhed : *ded* 9978.
: *sed* s. 2324.
manhed : *red* = tell 18794, 20998.
: *sede* 5582, 14464.
: *wede* = clothing 9868.
E *soþed* = *sothed* [< OFr *sot* + *hēd*] C *soithed* : *ded* 19146.
C *sotthed* : *rede* = tell 22865.
C *treuthede* F *trew hede* : *red* = read 97.
wicked-hed : *ded* s. 841.

§ 169. OE *ǣ*[1] : OE *ǣ*[1].
brede [OE *brǣdu*] = breadth : *sprede* 21973.
lede inf. : *lede* s. 13830.

: *sprede* 5221.
: *blissed-hede* inf. 6852.
: *knighthede* 8422.
: C *wikcedhede* 8469.
: *wickedhede* 7421.
C *ledd* inf. : C *spredd* inf. 17509.
lede s. : *sprede* 10683.
ledis pr. : *wickedhedis* 23141.
dughtihede : *maidenhede* 12706.
goddhed : *anhede* 317.
: *manhede* 18153, 18812.
lauerd-hede : *spred* inf. 599, 2063.
wikkudhede : *brede* [OE *brǣdu*] = breadth 1641.

§ 170. OFr *e* : OE *ē*.
Mede = Media : *yede* pt. 21094.

§ 171. OE *ǣ*[2] : OE *ēa*.
drede inf. = fear (God) : *ded* = death 11787.
dred s. = dread : *ded* [OE *dēad*] 20236.
red s. = counsel : *ded* s. = death 1620, 1951, 3993, 10693, 10791, 13071, 13960, 17353, 18272, 19711, 20354, 24288, 24853.
: *ded* adj. 2290, 2989, 4032, 6937, 7576, 7771, 8606, 11505, 11873, 12660, 14254, 18561, 20358.
: *red* adj. [OE *rēad*] 4678, 6493, 24844.
C *redd* inf. = save : *dedd* = death 906.
C *red* pr. subj. = be profitable for, help : *ded* = death 4113. The word *he* in the Cotton text is probably incorrect and ought to be changed into *him* and brought into conformity with the reading of the Fairfax MS. The Gött. and Tr. MSS. have quite different readings with *sted* as the rime-word. In the Vulgate the corresponding passage runs: Et tunc apparebit, quid illi prosint somnia sua. (Gen. XXXVII, 20).

rede inf. = advise, resolve pr. : *ded* = death 4317, 8742.
: *ded* adj. 3452, 24516.
wede = clothes : *rede* adj. [OE *rēad*] 3365.

§ 172. OE *ēa* : close *ē* in groups 1—8.
ded = death : *mede* s. 20255.
ded adj. : *yede* pt. 14234.

These rimes seem to be emergency rimes, to judge from the fact that *mede* s. and *yede* pt. are only rimed with close *ē*; see §§ 164—170.

The rime *ded* adj. : CG *wede* inf. [OE *wēdan* < **wōdjan*] 12039 perhaps belongs here, but F has *dede* : *rede* s. with long open *ę̄*.

The rime *rede* = save : C *nede* s. F *drede* G *mede* 8398 is very uncertain.

§ 173. OE *ēa* : OE *ēa*.
bred s. [OE *brēad*] : *ded* adj. 4601 : s. 4718.
: *red* adj. 4764.
ded = death : *rede* adj. 20076 : *un-rede* adj. 24470.
dede adj. : *forbede* pt. subj. 4634.
ded [OE *dēad*] : *red* adj. 5920.
scede inf. [OE *scēadan* with falling diphthong] : *dede* = death 17985.
CG *scede* p. p. [OE *scēaden* with falling diphthong] : *rede* adj. 23692.

§ 174. OE *ǣ*[1](*h*) = OE *ēa*.
fede [OE **ȝefǣd*, *ȝefǣȝed* p. p. of the verb *ȝefǣȝan* = 'to set at variance', which seems to arise from Teut. **ȝefaihjan*. OHG had a verb *fēhjan*, which I consider to correspond to OE *ȝefǣȝan*. See further SIEVERS § 408 and notes. Cfr. the verb **faihjan* = 'to paint' and its OE forms *a-fǣȝde*, *fǣdan* pt. pl.
: *bred* s. [OE *brēad*] 12948.
: *ded* = death 7935, 8535, 11945, 18045, 18621, EG 19358, 23731, 24134.

: *ded* adj. 8536.
: *dede* = death, *rede* = counsel, *qued* 16254.
: *lede* [OE *lēad*], *rede* s., *dede* = death 16452.
: *dede* = death, *sced* pt. [OE *scēad*], *rede* s., *bred* s. [OE *brēad*], *qued* adj. 17212.
: *red* adj. 20076 : *un-rede* adj. 24470.

§ 175. OE $\bar{æ}^1(h)$ OE $\bar{æ}^2$.
fede : *rede* s. = help 7639.

Perhaps the rimes *ded* adj. : *fled* p. p. [of OE *flēon*] 1174, *ded* adj. : CG *shedd* p. p. 4152, are not incorrect: *fledd* with short *e* p. p. is established by a great many rimes; see § 56. The shortening of the vowel in *ded* adj. is perhaps due to the fact that the adjective was mistaken for a past participle and so obtained by analogy the usual short vowel of this tense; cfr. *fledd*. It should also be observed that the adjective alone, and not the substantive, is found with short *e*. This short *e* has been found as early as in Roberd Mannyng in the first half of the fourteenth century (cfr. OSKAR BOERNER, Festschrift für Morsbach, p. 317). He says: »So sehe ich in unserm Reim das erste Beispiel für das gekürzte *dēd*.» But the above examples are earlier, since Cursor Mundi was composed before 1300.

Conclusion: *drede* in all its significations has mostly *ę̣*. The same applies to *wede* = 'clothes'. *Red* = 'counsel', 'help' and as a verb = 'advise', 'save', on the other hand, must have had *open ę̣*, to judge by the great number of rimes with *ę̣*. The infinitive *shede* with *ę̣*, judging from the rime in § 173, cannot be explained from the inflected forms of the present tense *scædas* with *i*-mutation, because OE $\bar{æ}^1 + d$ is always represented by *ę̣* in this dialect, cfr. § 167. It should be noted, too, that Orrm. has *shædenn* and not *shedenn* like *ledenn*. NED is right, therefore, in assuming this explanation of the open vowel. The groundform is an OE form with a falling diphthong instead of an original rising diphthong. With regard to the p. p. *shede*, this form originates from an OE form *scēaden*, also with a falling diphthong. NED puts a sign of interrogation after this p. p., but no doubt it existed, as this rime seems to show. Moreover, it

should have been the p. p. corresponding to the present tense *scēadan*, since the verb was a reduplicated one.

The rime *rede* = rule : *spede, lede* (*æ*[1]), *bede* (*bēodan*) 15432 is incorrect. *rede* = 'rule, counsel' has *ę̄*, as shown above. It only occurs in C, the line is missing in the other MSS.

§ 176. The sb. *stedd* = stead : *bed*(*d*) s. [OE *ʒebed*] = bead, prayer 8025, 17692, 19209.
: *bedd* s. 901, 5137.
: *bedd* pt. [weak form of *bę̄d* < OE *bēodan*] 8820.
: E *bed* p. p. [weak form of *bę̄d* < OE *bēodan*] C *bredd* p. p. [of OE *brēdan*] 21029.
: *forbedd* pt. 7941.
: *bredd* p. p. [of OE *brēdan*] 10348 : *in-bredd* pt. 23690.
: *fledd* pt. [of OE *flēon*] 12075, 17459. As is proved in § 56, *fledd* pt., p. p. is recorded only with short *e* in C. M.
: *ledd* pt., p. p. 4967, 8130, 8874, 13555, 11984, 14249, 16092, 18381.
: *redd* p. p. 18825, 19266, 21181, 24926 : *redd* pt. 236 not present tense as is wrongly given in the Glossary.
: *spedd* p. p. 10858.
: *spredd* pt. 21574.
: *bled* pt., *bedd* s., *ledd* p. p., *forbedd* pt. 16920.
: *ledd* pt., *medd* adj. = mad, *bedd* pt. 16098.
: *ledd* p. p., *redd* p. p., *bred* s. [OE *bred*] 16582.

The first rimes with *bed*(*d*) = 'prayer' might be taken as *ę̄*-rimes, *stę̄d* < OE *stede* : *bę̄d* < OE *ʒebed* n. in oblique cases, as is often the case with neuters, or else it possibly represents OE *bedu*. All the other rimes, however, prove a short *e* in *stedd* and then short *e* is also probably present in *bed* = 'prayer'. The origin of this form *stedd* with short *e* is to be seen in ONorth., where, according to SIEVERS § 263 Note 5, shortened forms of the masculine *i*-stems without final *-e* appear as a rule, e. g. *styd* instead of *styde, met*(*t*) instead of *mete* (represented by *met* with short *e* in C. M.; see § 31). The ordinary OE form

stede s. should accordingly have been represented in ONorth. by the short form *sted.*

-ēf.

§ 177. Close *ē* in groups 1—8 : OFr *e*.
theif s. [OE *þēof*] : *greif* inf. [OFr *grever*] with *f* in MSS. CFG 7234.

§ 178. OE *ēa* : OE *ēa*.
def adj. [OE *dēaf*] : *lef* s. [OE *lēaf*] 14420.

-ēk.

§ 179. Close *ē* in groups 1—8 rimed inter se.
chek [OAngl. *čēce*] : *eke* adv. [OAngl. *ēc*] 24533.
eke adv. [OAngl. *ēc*] : *meke* adj. [OSc *miúkr*] 23890.
: *seke* inf. 6331, 17560.
: *be-seke* 23759.
meke adj. : *seke* inf. 11816, 17578.
: *seke* adj. [OE *sēoc*] 11838, 13457.
bi-seke inf. : *seke* adj. 14150.
spek s. [OAngl. *sprēc*] : *eke* inf. [OAngl. *ēcan*] 12197 : adv. 18056.
: *seke* adj. 13260, 13348, 24320.
Note. The infinitive *speke* : *eke* adv. 18438, 18982.
: *smeke* s. [OAngl. *smēc*] 1643.
: *wreke* s. [OAngl. *wrēc*] 2928, 22603

To judge from these five rimes, *speke* inf. seems to have *ę̄*. According to MORSBACH Mittelengl. Gr. p. 146 *ê* is sometimes rimed with *ę̄* in the northern dialects, and this is to be expected, because the short *e* is often rimed with *i* and so seems to be close or half-close. This lengthened *ê* ought therefore to be a half-open *ē*-sound.

§ 180. OE *æ*[1] : *e* lengthened in open syllable.
reke [O North. *rǣcan*] : *speke* inf. 11221, 20026.
ouer-reke inf. : *wrece* inf. 22375.

§ 181. OE $\bar{æ}^1$: OE $\bar{æ}^1$.

reke inf. : *weke* adj. = weak 24452.

This rime proves that BJÖRKMAN's assumption as to the origin of *weke* adj. in C. M. is right. The co-existence of the OSc loan-word *waik* in the MSS. is shown by such spellings as *wayker, waike, waikest. weck* 23624 is = *week*, but not = *weik*, as BJÖRKMAN supposes as an alternative, Scand. Loanw. p. 52. It is easier to explain *c* as a scribal error for *e* than *i*. Moreover, OSc *ei* is always represented by *ai* in the MSS. of C. M.

Judging from the above rimes in §§ 180, 181, OE $\bar{æ}^1$ before *k* is an open *ē* in this dialect.

§ 182. OE *e* in open syllable : OE *e* in open syllable.

speke inf. : *breke* inf. 10673.

: *wreke* inf. 11964.

§ 183. OE *e* in open syllable : OE *e* or OSc *e*.

G *breck* inf. : G *steck* F *stek* 22202 E *stecke* C *sterck*. Both the Glossary and the Notes are wrong in their explanations of the word *steck*, which would be the right spelling, because it is found in three MSS.; the fourth text-variant *sterck* gives no meaning. The origin of the word is, I suppose, OSc *støkkva*, which would regularly give *steck* in English. See further Etym. Sect.

spec inf. : *frek* [OE *frek*] 5197.

speck pr. : *Amalec* 6403; cfr *freck* : *Amalec* 6409.

spek inf. : *Ioseph* 12290.

These rimes show that the lengthening of *e* before *k* in open syllables has not always taken place in this dialect.

§ 184. *i* in an open syllable riming with itself,

mikel adj. : CFG *sekir* adj. [OE *sicor*] 14066. This rime can be taken as an *ē*-rime, according to LUICK Stud. p. 128.

-ēl.

§ 185. Close ē in groups 1—8 rimed inter se.

fel s. : *wel(le)* adv. 547.

inf., pr. : *wele* 3693, 18268, 19372, 20808, 24682 : *ouer-wele* s. [from the adv.] 2901.

knele [OE *cnēowlian* > *cnēolian* through influence of *cneo* s.] : *wele* adv. 17696.

quele [OAngl. *hwēl*] : *wel* 21273.

stel [OAngl. *stēl*] : *wel* 18088, C *stile* : *wele* adv. 7546.

welis [the adv. used as a sb.] : *felis* 4503.

§ 186. OE *ǣ*[1] : close ē.

del s. : *wel* adv. 1364, 1670, 2428, 9522, 10021, 13493, 14635, 17400, 20276, 20319, 20618, 23332, 24190.

sum-del : *wel* 18836.

These rimes show that *del* s. had a close ē as opposed to the verb *del* with ę̄; see §§ 191, 192.

§ 187. OE *ǣ*[2] : close ē.

sel s. [OAngl. *sēl*] : *wele* adv. 437, 5563, 8320 : C *well* 4431, 9901 REITEMEYER p. 55 has wrongly given *sel* s. = seal 22261, 23094.

: *wel* s. 672 [not OE *wela,* but the adverb *wēl* used as a substantive] 671, 8884, 23479.

: *un-sele* : *wel* s. 6982 : C *well* adv. 1165, C *sell* : C *well* adv. 3961.

: *wele* adv. 7280.

wel [OAngl. *wēl* = pitt] : *quela* [OAngl. *hwēl*] 23720.

§ 188. OE *ǣ*[1] : OE *ǣ*[2].

sum-del : *sel* 23796.

§ 189. OE *ǣ*[2] : OE *ǣ*[2].

wel [OAngl. *wēl* = pitt, whirlpool] : *sel* 2903.

§ 190. Close *ē* : OFr *e*.
wel adv. : *angel* 1392.
: *Batuel* 3288.
C *well* adv. : *Israel* 5785.
un-wel s. = evil, hardship : *Israel* 5713.
: *Samuel* 7315.

§ 191. OE *ǣ*[1] : OSc *é*.
deles pr. [OE *dǣlan*] : *meles* [OSc *méla*] 12249.
hele s. [OE *hǣlu*] : *mele* inf. 8014, 9347, 13785, 17624, 17894, 18370, 22301.
hele inf. [OE *hǣlan*] : *mele* inf. 17464.

§ 192. OE *ǣ*[1] : OE *e*(*o*) lengthened in open syllables.
dele inf. [OE *dǣlan*] : *fele* adj. [OE *feola*] 13467.
: *mele* s. [OE *meolu*] 4679.
hele s. [OE *hǣlu*] : *fele* [OE *feola*] 8992, 9165, 10106, 14078, 19516, 23375.
C *elth* [OE *hǣlþ*] : *welth* [< *wele* + *th* according to Skeat Etym. Dict.] 756, CG *elth* T *helþe* F *hele* 23464.

For the long *e* in *helth* cfr. the frequent spelling *heelth* in Wyclif. *hęle* strongly influenced *helth* and *węle* (< *wele*) *welth*. But cfr. Orrm. *seollþe*, *sellþe* < OAngl. *sēlþ* in spite of the by-form *sēl*.

The above-mentioned words containing OE *ǣ*[1] must have had an open *ē*-sound, but the sb. *del* had a close *ē*; see § 186.

§ 193. OE *ǣ*[1] : OE *ǣ*[1].
dele inf. : *hele* s. [OE *hǣlu*] 1984.
: *un-hele* s. 8143.

§ 194. OE *e*(*o*) lengthened in an open syllable : OSc *é*.
fele adj. [OE *feola*] : *mele* inf. 9165, 17541, 19927, 22334, 23139.

§ 195. OE *ǣ*[1] : OFr *e* (facultatively unstressed).
dele inf. : *catell* s. 8558, 23070.
: *mangonele* [OFr *manganel*] 4301.
: *Daniel* 22411.
: *Israel* 17604.
: *lel* adj. [AN *leel*] 1626, 10178.

: *Samuel* 7301.
hele s. [OE *hǣlu*] : *bedel* [OFr *bedel*] 11005.
: *castel* 13948.
: *Israel* 11317, 11341. 17725.
: *lele* [AN *leel* < *leiel*] 10363, 19279.
: *mesel* [OFr *mesel*] 5823, 14446, 17990, 18544.
un-hele s. : *mesel* 8138, 8169.
hele inf. : *Israel* 17828.
: *Michael* 17929.

§ 196. OE *e*(*o*) lengthened in open syllable : OFr *e* (facultatively unstressed).
fele adj. [OE *feola*] : *Abel* 1217.
: *Israel* 5500, 7012.
: *lele* adj. [AN *leel*] 6823, 7847, 8454, 10086, 11367, 13877, 19401, 21222, 21995, 24961.
: *un-lel* 13172.
: *morsel* [OFr *morcel*] 13484.
stele inf. [OE *stelan*] : *lele* adj. 4910, 6477, 11147, C *stell* inf. : *lele* 8682.
: *sel* s. [AN *seel* < *seiel*] 18566.

§ 197. OSc *ǽ* : OFr *e* (facult. unstr.).
bitele inf. [OSc *tǽla* = entice, betray] = betray, deceive : *sele* s. [AN *seel* < *seiel*] 6890, C *bitell* : *sel* 17412.

Reitemeyer p. 59 wrongly gives OE *bitellan* as the source of *bitele* in these examples, but then the rime would be *ē* : *ę̄*, for *sel* has *ę̄*, as shown by the last rime in § 196. Nor is OAngl. *tēlan* the ground-word, because that would give *ę̄* in this dialect, and, besides, the meaning of *tǣlan*, *tēlan* was 'calumniate, blame.'

mele inf. : *castel* 14231.
: *Israel* 5476, 5848, 11097, 19085.
: *lele* 22843.
: *Raguel* only in C 5708.

§ 198. OFr *e* (facult. unstr.) : OFr *e* (facult. unstr.).
lele adj. [AN *leel* < *leiel*] : *angel* s. 10509, 18232, EFG 24683.
: *Batuel* 2308.

: *catell* s. 3104, 4375, 4954, 6769.
: *Ioel* 18977.
: *Israel* 6292, 7797, 7939, 10439, 17557, 17656, 21239.
: *Michel* 20670.
: *Samuel* 7288.
: *wessele* 19673.
un-lel : *angel* 18609.
: *Israel* 6149.

-eld.

§ 199. OAngl. *é* : OAngl. *é*.
beild s. : *eild* s. 10515, 12237, 22852.
: *heild* inf. 20815.
: *weld* s. 18152.
(*h*)*eild* s. : *feild* s. 4713 : *feld* 7269.
: *don-heild* s. 5467.
: *weld* s. 10594.
: *weild* inf. 585, 10327, 10893 : *weld* 5649.
eildis s. pl. : *weldes* pr. sing. 22814.
eild s. : *yeild* inf. 924.
feild s. : *doun-heild* s. 3821, 6432.
: *sceild* s. 2498, 7662.
: *yeild* inf. 6761, 7463, 23851.
feilds pl. : *yeilds* pr. 4719.
dun-heild s. : *weild* s. 3112.
heild inf., pr. : *yeild* inf., pr. 259, 22235, 24407.
under-heild adj. : *yeild* 907.
weild s. : *sceild* s. 20818.
: *yeild* inf. 462, 3817, 6741.
weld inf. : *yeild* inf. 22360.

§ 200. OE *ēo* : OAngl. *é*.
biheild pt. : *beild* s. 24115.
: *eild* s. 5166.

: *held* G *heild* 24355.
: *weild* s. 787.

C has in line 9484 *eild*, which EILERS takes as = *yeild* pr. sing., but the context shows that *eild* must be a verbal form in the preterite, and *yelde* pt. probably has *ĕ*, as the only spelling is *yelde* and not *yeilde*. MS. G presumably renders the original text by *bi-held* pt. in line 9483. Then the rime would be *biheild* : *weild* s. 9483. For the signification of *biheld* see NED *behold* I, 1, b.

§ 201. OE *ēo* : *ĕ*.

beheld pt. : *teld* pt. [OE *telede*] 7553, p. p. 17490.
held pt. : *dueld* p. p. [OE *ʒedweled* beside *ʒedweald*] 19525.
: *feldd* p. p. [of OE *fellan*] 17462 : *feld* 19409.
: *queld* pt. [OE *cwelede* beside *cwealde*] 19468.
: *teld* pt. [OE *telede* beside *tealde*] 24955.
heild pt. : *un-teld* p. p. [OE *ʒeteled*] 18550.
: *weld* pt. [cfr. ONorth *welle* pr., OMerc *wellende*] 8445.

§ 202. OE *ē* : OE *ĕ*.

dueld p. p. : *teld* p. p. 17708.
feld p. p. [of OE *fellan*] : *teld* p. p. 7061.
feld pt. [of OE *fellan*] : *teld* p. p. 7173.

Line 21942 CF *fulli feld* : *teld* p. p. is misinterpreted by EILERS as *fullfilld*.

§ 203. OE *ē* : OSc *ĕ*.

teld p. p. : *geld* adj. [OSc *geldr*] 10346, 10493.

Result: OE *é* + *ld* generally remains as *ę̄*; the only word with *ĕ* is the preterite *held; beheld* has both *ē* and *ĕ*. The OSc loanword *geld* has *ĕ*, to judge from the two rimes with *teld* p. p.

-ēm

§ 204. Close *ē* in groups 1—8 rimed inter se.
beme s. [OAngl. *bēme* < WGerm.**baumjōn*] : *deme* inf. 22711.
brem adj. [OE *brēme*] : *deme* inf. 22697.

deme inf. : *queme* adj. [OE *ȝecwēme*] 8733, 8809, 21964, 23348.
flemed p. p. [OAngl. *flēman*] : *demed* p. p. 9627.
un-queme adj. [OE *cwēme*] : *deme* inf. 22597.
seme inf. [OSc *søma*] : *queme* s. 23913 : adj. 3265, 17622.
: *yeme* inf. 12445.
yeme s. [OAngl. *ȝēme*] : *deme* inf. 7015,
yeme inf. [OAngl. *ȝēman*] : *deme* 8585, 9541, 17416, 19129, 19963, 22421.
: *queme* s. 2690, 11174, 23136.

§ 205. Close *ē* in groups 1—8 : OFr *e*.
deme inf. : *diademe* 22358.
queme adj. : *Nichodeme* 24484.
yeme : *Nichodeme* 17536.

The Latin-French proper noun *Nichodem* is proved by the above rimes to contain *ę̄*.

§ 206. OFr *e* : OFr *e*.
teme s. [OFr *teme*, Lat. *tema*] : *Nichodeme* 18495 cfr. preceding §.

This rime points to *ę̄* in *teme*, which is confirmed by the spelling *tyme* in NED : 5—6 *tyme* (3 examples).

§ 207. OE *ēa* : OE *ēa*.
bem s. [OE *bēam*] : *barn-tem* s. [OE *tēam*] 11228.
drem s. [OE *drēam*] : (*to Godd I*) *tem* [OAngl. *tēman* influenced by the substantive *tēam*; cfr. NED : 3 *teamen* and Orrm. *tæmenn*] 5069.
strem s. [OE *strēam*] : *drem* inf. [from the subst. OE *drēam*] 18986.
: *reme* s. [OE *rēam*] 4780.
barn-tem s. [OE *tēam*] : FGT *eme* s. [OE *ēam*] 3790 C has *þi nem*,
: (*to Drightin*) *teme* [OAngl. *tēman* influenced by *tēam*] 6169.

§ 208. OE *ēa* : OFr *e*.
tem inf. [OAngl. *tēman* influenced by *tēam* s.] = to bear witness : *Bethleem* 14791.
(*to Godd I*) *tem* : *Ierusalem* 12797.

barn-tem s.: *Bethleem* 11233, 11562.
: *Ierusalem* 17792, 21127.
: *Sem* 2043, 2138, 2280.
: *maintein* 7373; for the explanation of this rime see REITEMEYER p. 84.

§ 209. OE *ēa* : OSc *ǽ*.
barntem : *utenem* [< *ut* + OSc *nǽmr* adj., see further discussion in Etym. Sect. Cfr. RICH. MORRIS Notes on lines 1—1773 p. 249*] = exceptional.
G *stremis* C *stremmes* [OE *strēam*] : *utnemis* adv. 1316.

§ 210. *leme* s. [OE *lēoma*] : *bem* s. [OE *bēam*] 9945, 17865.
: *barnteme* 18193, 22069.
: *Ierusalem* 11435.
leme inf. [from the sb.] : *Ierusalem* 8198.

To judge from these rimes *leme* = 'light' has open *ę̄*. NED gives the spelling *leame* 4, 6—7. To explain the open *ę̄* I presume an influence from the words *beam, gleam* [OE *glǣm*(*an*) < **glaim*(*ian*)], which have a similar meaning and were more common.

The verb *tēmen* is shown by the rimes in § 207 to have open *ę̄*. Orrm., too, has *tǣmenn*, and this change from OAngl. *tēman* into ME *tǣmen* is due to the influence of the noun *team* on the corresponding verb.

Note. The rime *barn-teme* s. : *deme* inf. 3432 is probably incorrect.

-ēn.

§ 211. Close *ē* in groups 1—8 rimed inter se.
ben p. p. : *ken* adj. 7076.
: *sen* p. p. [OAngl. *ȝesēne* adj.] 8860, 22835, 23063.
: *ten* s. [OE *tēona*] 18253.

fiften : *sen* p. p. 22430.
: *ten* num. [OAngl. *tēn*] 1676.
gren adj. : *sen* p. p. 10774 : C *gren* F *bene* p. p. G *sene* p. p. 1256.
ken adj. : *fiueten* 213.
: *sen* p. p. 2886, 4218, 6020, 7106, 8944, 22579, 24052.
: *ten* s. [OE *tēona*] 12079.
quen s. [OE *cwēn*] : *ben* p. p. 20140, 20153, 20481, 20603.
: *sen* p. p. 21578.
: *wen* s. [OE *wēn, wēna*] 20800.
scen adj. [OE *scēne*] : *ben* p. p. 10080, 10306.
: *sen* p. p. 1330, 2416, 10844, 11392, 22495, 22765, 24080.
sen p. p. : *ben* p. p. 4546, 5256, 14180, 14600, 14639, 14888, 24423, C *bine* 13597.
: *gren* adj. 1011, 1422, 1990, 5744.
: *ten* s. [OE *tēona*] 13908.
: *wen* s. 1103, 1356, 18703.
un-sene adj. [OAngl. *unȝesēne*] : *bene* p. p. 4632.
ten s. [OE *tēona*] : *ben* p. p. 8142.
: *ken* adj. 19435.
: *betwene* 11651.
tene inf. [OE *tēonian*] : *kene* 21491.
FGT *bi-twene* C *bi-tuine* : *scene* adj. 3571.
: *sen* p. p. 9724, C *bitwin* : *sene* 10244, 12409.
wene s. [OE *wēn, wēna*] : *bene* p. p. 3139, 6158.
: *sen* p. p. 3188, 7744, 13675, 14834 : *un-sene* 577.
wen inf., pr. [OE *wēnan*] : *ben* p. p. 14257.
: *scene* adj. 9026 : C *schen* adj. 3371.
: *sen* p. p. 14368, 17339, 19546.
: *ten* [OE *tēonian*] 10462.

§ 212. OE *æ*[1] : Close *ē* in groups 1—8.
bidene adv. [according to NED < *bid* + *æne* > **ain-*] : *ben* p. p. 2924, 6555, 21580.
: *grene* adj. 6044.

: *ken* adj. 4704, 4724, 5901, 7777, 11560.
: *quen* s. 21488, 21522.
: *scene* adj. 8935.
: *sen* p. p. 6608, 6633, 11784, 17479, 18923, 19010, 19082.
: *un-sene* 5947, 9091.
: *fiften* 8864.
: *tene* s. [OE *tēona*] 12018, 12064, 14729.
: *wen* pr. [OE *wēnan*] 1457, 23844 : *weṅ* s. 1813, 5073.

clene adj. [OE *clǣne*] : *ben* p. p. 2984, 10889, 21033, 23496.
: *scen* adj. 5745, 9985, 18204, 18536.
: *sene* p. p. 476, 4918, 5996, 6626, 10597, 10629, 12890, 14803, 15300, *unclene* : *sen* 19932.
: *un-sene* 565.
: *bi-twene* 15300.
: *wen* s. [OE *wēn(a)*] 467, 24662.
: *wene* pr. [OE *wēnan*] 9793.

mene inf., pr. [OE *mǣnan*] : *ben* p. p. 8900, 22581.
: *ken* adj. 22427, 23220, 23846.
: *scen* adj. 9921, 24916.
: *sen* p. p. 4456, 5251, 8496, 18255, 24660.
: *fiftene* 10583.
: *seuen-tene* 9141.
: *ten* s. [OE *tēona*] 24605.

§ 213. OE *ǣ*[1] : OE *ǣ*[1].

clene adj. : *bidene* adv. 14068, C *bideine* 1960 : *bedene, bituene, sene* 15300, *unclen* : *bidene* 22075.
: *mene* inf. 9329.

mene inf., pr. : *bidene* 5395.
: *clene* adj. 3107, 23579, 24311.

§. 214. Close *ē* in groups 1—8 : OFr *e*.

fiftene : *Magdalene* 14233.
kene adv. : *Philistiene* 7792.
un-sene p. p. : *Nazarene* 19621.
tenis s. [OE *tēona*] : *Philistiens* 7980.

§ 215. OE *ǣ*[1] : OFr *e*.

bidene adv. : *Egyptiene* 6117.

As the rimes indicate, OE *ǣ*[1] before *n* is a close *ē* in this dialect.

-end.

§ 216. OE *ēo* : OE *é* and OE *ē*.

feind s. : EF *lend* C *weind* pr., the word is missing in G and T. Orrm. has *lendenn.*

freind s. : *end* s. 21845.

: *heinde* adj. 13389, 13869 : *hind* 2338 : *hend* 4258, *frend* : *hend* 1924, *frend* : *heind* 19799.

: *leind* s. [from the OE verb *léndan*] 9651, *frend* : *leind* s. 24729.

frend : *scend* inf. 14845, 24022 G *freind* : *sceind.* Orrm. has *shendenn.*

freind : *teind* s. [from *tēn* (see NED s. v. *tenth*) probably + OSc *tíonde*] = tenth 24436, *friend* : *teind* 14119, *friend* : *tend* 1061.

C *frend* : *teind* 1208.

: *weind* inf., pr. 14190, 18790, 23738, 23805, 24133, 24297 : *wend* inf., pr. 3807, 12808, 13086, 13549, 13754 : *wende* pr. subj. 14569, *frend* : *weind* inf. 12544, *frend* : *weind* pr. 961, *frend* 1150 (2 pr. subj.), *frendes* : *wendes* 14822, *frend* : C *wind* inf. 24778.

§ 217. OE *é* and OE *ē* : OE *é*.

end s. : *lend* inf. 753, 9955, 22263.

: *send* pr. 17705, inf. 9370, 22390.

: *wend* inf. 22263.

end inf. : *lend* inf. 9725, 22423.

: *wend* inf. 24148.

hend adj. : *tend* s. 967, *hind* : *tend* 2539.

un-hind : *scend* inf. 9023.

heind : *tend* ord. 431.

: *weind* inf. 18751 : *wend* inf. 21592.
lend inf. : *end* s. 10671, 14898, 20037, 22997.
leind inf. : *weind* inf. 2433.
lendes : *sendes* 13101.
lend s. : *freind, heind, teind* 16974.
rend inf. : *seind* inf. 4161.
send pr. : *wend* inf. 1271.
thritteind ord. (to *thrētēn*) : *heind* adj. 11373.
wend inf. pr. : *end* s. 17187.
: *lend* inf. 9664.
weind inf. : *leind* s. 24214.

§ 218. OE *ēo, ē, é* OFr *ĕ*.
end s. : *amend* 4225.
: *defend* 10924, 21802.
: *despend* 13410.
: *mend* 644, 2912, 22435, 23076, 23122.
: *spend* [OE *spéndan* + OFr (*de*)*spend*] 257, 20857, 24740.
end inf. : *spend* 9703.
lend s. : *descend* [OE *léndenu* = the loins] 22073. EILERS wrongly gives this *lend* = inf. p. 23.
lend inf. : *descend* 22499, 10884.
send inf. : *defend* 12965.
: *mend* 3417, 24524.
wend inf. : *spend* 5039.

§ 219. OFr *ĕ* : OFr *ĕ*.
atend inf. : *amend* inf. 21803, G *tende* [OFr *attendre*] C *tent* inf. : *amend* inf. 255.

§ 220. OFr *ĕ* riming with the following preterites and past participles.
descend inf. : *kend* p. p. [of OE *cennan*] 22639.
entend pr. : *spend* p. p. 23896.
mend inf. : *blend* p. p. 18842.
s. : *defend* p. p. 21763.

inf. : *send* p. p. 10316, 10960, 14699.
spend : *bekend* p. p. 10184.
: *send* pt. 17507.

§ 221. OE *é* rimed with the following preterites and past participles.
end s. : *blend* p. p. 24099, 24105.
: *brend* p. p. 1531.
: *be-kend* p. p. 10358.
: *lend* p. p. 21946, 23648.
: *send* pt. 5916, 10944, 13942 : p. p. 1296, 1393.
: *wend* pt. [of OE *wēnan*. Orrm. *wennde* pt.] 10127.
hend adj. : CF *send* pt. G *send* inf. 2255.
lend pr. subj. : *kend* p. p. 1151.
inf. : *wend* pt. pl. [of OE *wendan*] 1868.
wend inf. : *lend* p. p. 4213.
: *send* p. p. 14217.

§ 222. OSc *e* : OFr *ĕ*.
blend inf. [OSc *blendr* pr.] : *descend* 13767.
hend pl. [OSc *hendr* pl.] : *amend* 24487.

§ 223. OSc *e* rimed with the following preterites and past participles.
hend pl. : *be-kend* pt. 7241.
: *send* p. p. 19685.
: *wend* pt. [of OE *wēnan*] 24458.

§ 224. OSc *e* : OE *é* and OE *ēo*.
hend pl. : *freind* s. 17142.
: *send* inf. 4767.

§ 225. Preterites and past participles rimed inter se.
blend p. p. : *wend* pt. [of OE *wēnan*] 24005.
kend p. p. : *send* pt. 19826 : *send* p. p. 3423, 14339.
be-kend pt. : *wende* pt. [of OE *wéndan*] 10609.
p. p. : *wend* pt. [of OE *wēnan*] 1584.
send pt. : *wend* pt. [of OE *wēnan*] 735, 4892.

CT *send* p. p. : CT *brend* FG *sent* : *brent* 13239.
p. p. : *lend* pt. 10775.
: *wend* pt. [of OE *wéndan*] 20407.
wend pt. [of OE *wēnan*] : *send* p. p. 12687.

Results. The above rimes point to:

1) *ē* alone in : *feind* s., *leind* s., *teind* = 'tenth', *thritteind*.
2) Both *ē* and *ĕ* : *freind*, *heind* adj., *sceind* v., *wend* v.
3) *ĕ* alone in : all preterites and past participles, the above OSc and OFr loanwords, *lend* v., *end* s., v., *send* inf., pr. and perhaps *lend* s. = 'loins' and *rend* v.

-eng.

§ 226. The sb. CG *geing* [OSc *gengi*] : CG *weing* s. [OSc *vǽngr*; cfr Orrm's *weng*] 18301.

The OSc loan-words had their vowels lengthened in OE before vowel-lengthening consonant groups; see BÜLBR. § 285, Note 2. Consequently *ē* is possible in *geing*, and the above-mentioned rime may be taken as an *ē*-rime. Yet *geing* s. is also found in the CF form *ging;* G has *geng* riming with *king* 6125.

§ 227. The following rimes probably contain short *e*.
leng inf. [ONorth. *lénga*] : *meng* inf. [ONorth. *ménga*] 19272, 19876.

Compare these rimes, however, with the following cases, *leng* inf. : *breng* inf. only in MS. C 21587, *bring* inf. is the usual form in C. M., *leng* inf. : F *duȝti thing*, C *dughtithing* 8181, *ming* inf. : *king* 7455. The *e* before *-ng* seems to have a close sound very near to an *i*, cfr § 355. In the same way we ought to interpret such a rime as EG *steng* s. [ONorth. *sténg*] C *stong* = pole : F *ȝinge* adj. [ONorth. *ȝíng*] E *yeng* G *ȝeng* C *yong* 24030.

-ēp.

§ 228. Close *ē* in groups 1—8 rimed inter se.
kepe inf. : *depe* adj. 21359.

slep pt. [OE *slēp*] : *kepe* s. 20127, 20497.
wepe inf. : *depe* adj. 4228, 13081, 20836.
: *kepe* 24247.

§ 229. OE *æ*^{2} : OE *ē*.
slepe inf. : FGT *depe* 11604 C *dipe*.
: *kepe* [s. from the verb] 14199.
: *kepe* inf. 626, 8210.
on-slep adv. : *kepe* s. 7428, 7198 : *kepe* inf. 7985.
scep s. : *kepe* 5729, 6763, 10383, 14657, 19384.

§ 230. OE *æ*^{2} : OE *æ*^{2}.
slep inf. : *schep* s. 686.

§ 231. OFr, Lat. *e* : OE *æ*^{2}-
Ioseph : *scep* s. 4742.
C *Iosep* : *sprec* pt. pl. [OAngl. *sprēcon*] (ass.) 12173.

§ 232. OE *ēa* : OE *ēa*.
hepes s. pl. [OE *hēap*] : *lepes* s. pl. [OE *lēap*] 13512.

§ 233. OE *ēa* : OFr *e*.
ȝepe adj. [OE *ȝēap*] : *Ioseph* 5370.

Note. The rime *ȝepe* adj. [OE *ȝēap*] : *kepe* inf. 4923 is probably incorrect.

-ēr.

§ 234. Close *ē* in groups 1—8 rimed inter se.
fere s. [OE *ȝefēra*] : *dere* adj. [OE *dēore*] 559, 13339, 20098, 20134, 20671, 24235.
: *fere* adj. [OSc *før*] 24947.
: *here* adv. 878, 19586.
fer adj. [OSc *før*] : *der* adj. [OE *dēore*] 13800.
: *torfere* s. [OSc *torføri*] 6497.
her inf., pr. : *dere* adj. [OE *dēore*] 2740, 12874, 14640, 17918, 20768, 23935, 24182, 24299, 24565.

:*fere* s. [OE *ȝefēra*] 20615.
: *here* adv. 12256.
: *nere* adv. [OAngl. **nēr;* cfr. LUICK Hist. Gr. p. 140] 27, 7412.
: *ser* adj. [OSc *sér*] 1, 2093, 5910, 6668, 12213, 14578.
: *stere* [OE *stēoran*] 24102.
her adv. : *der* adj. [OE *dēore*] 1145, 4840, 5030, 5351, 5363, 6509, 6562, 8284, 20594, 23800.
:*fere* [OE *ȝefēra*] 878, 18514.
:*fer* [OSc *før*] 8115, 24889.
: *here* pr. subj. 24143 : inf. 23077.
: *sere* [OSc *sér*] 331, 14453.
: *stere* [OE *stēoran*] 23275.
ner adv. : *dere* adj. 23044.
: *dere* s. [OE *dēor*] 3602.
: *here* inf., pr. 4234, 14123, 23829, 24315.
: *here* adv. 3843, 17585.
: *ster* inf. 23758.
ser adj. [OSc *sér*] : *dere* adj., adv. 925, 2298, 6146, 9961, 10055.
:*fere* [OE *ȝefēra*] 21200.
: *here* inf., pr. 17753, 18541, 21321, 21645, 21967, 23366.
: *her* adv. 8518, 19007.
: *stere* inf. 22654.
: *unfere* [OSc *før*] 21626.
torfer s. [OSc *torføri*] : *dere* adj. 20965.
: *here* imp. 8662.
unfere adj. [OSc *før*] : *dere* adj. 14169.

§ 235. OE *ǣ*[2] : close *ē* in groups 1—8.
ber [OAngl. *bēr*] = bier : *dere* adj. 20703.
:*fere* [OE *ȝefēra*] 20724.
:*fer* adj. [OSc *før*] 12515, 20755.
bere [OAngl. *ȝebēre* = behaviour] : *here* inf. 23253.
ber pt. sing. [from OAngl. *bēron* pt. pl.] : *dere* 14005.
: *her* adv. 8700.
pt. pl. . *ser* [OSc *sér*] 386.

schere s. [OAngl. *scēr*] = scissors : *nere* adv. 7240.
þer adv. [OAngl. *þēr*] : *dere* adj. 21087.
were pt. pl. : *dere* adj. 18339, 23582.
: *fere* [OSc *før*] 12078, 22215.
: *here* inf. 4393, 5330.
: *nere* adv. 4672.
: *sere* [OSc *sér*] 3339, 17847, 19391, 23307.
pt. subj. sing. : *here* inf. 19779.
: *here* adv. 17148.
: *nere* adv. 14024.
: *ser* adj. 10784.
: *stere* [OE *stēoran*] 4295, 12229.
: *unfere* adj. [OSc *-før*] 14154.
yer s. [OAngl. *ȝēr*] : *dere* adj., adv. 2584, 5420, 8834, 10212, 10651, 11102, 13183, 21371, 24897, C *yeir* : *dere* adj. 3858, 6918.
: *fer* s. [OE *ȝefēra*] 20991.
: *fere* [OSc *før*] 9146, 11410.
: *unfere* 1237, 1268.
: *here* inf., pr. 12580, 22212, C *yeire* : *here* inf. 4952.
: *her* adv. 2152, 8513, 18632, 21209, 22820 : C *hir* 4594.
: *sere* [OSc *sér*] 4674, 8031, 8245.
C *yeir* : *ner* adv. 12829, 21789 : C *neir* 12648.
C *yeir* : *seir* adj. 1433, 1494, 6840, 11377, C *ȝere* : *sere* 2164.
C *yeir* : *unfere* [OSc *-før*] 188, 13779, 14451, 19752.

§ 236. OE *ǣ*[2] : OE *ǣ*[2].
were pt. subj. C *war* : *here* adv., *bere* [OAngl. *ȝebēre*], *un-dere* adj. 16028.
yer s. : *ber* pt. sing. [from the pl. OAngl. *bēron*] 2169, 11799, 20824.
: *sere* adj., *torfere*, *were* pt. subj. 16984.

§ 237. OE *ǣ*[1] : close *ē* in groups 1—8.
lere [OE *lǣran*] inf., pr. : *fer* [OE *ȝefēra*] 12482.

: *here* inf. 13696, 21305, 21494, 22869, 23302.
: *here* adv. 6882, 13657.
: *nere* adv. 19538, 19640.
: *sere* [OSc *sér*] 19998.
: *stere* [OE *stēoran*] 19221.

§ 238. OE *ǣ*[1] : OE *ǣ*[2].
lere inf. : *yere* s. 1545, 21171.

The rimes in §§ 237, 238 show that OE *ǣ*[1] in the verb *ler* was a close *ē*.

§ 239. OFr *e* : close *ē* in groups 1—8.
boteler s. [AN *butuiller*] : *her* inf. 13406.
cher s. : *dere* adj. 4220, 5075, 10433, 11509, 12625, 24231.
: *fere* s. [OE *ȝefēra*] 20420.
: *here* inf., pr. 4963, 10508, 22753, 23157.
: *here* adv. 5097, 18408, 24244.
: *sere* adj. [OSc *sér*] 4232.
cler adj. : *her* adv. 9754, 17778, 18238.
: *sere* adj. [OSc *sér*] 291.
conseiler s. : *sere* adj. 9314.
dinere s. : *unfere* adj. 3508.
F *emperere* [OFr *emperere*] C *emperour* [the form of the oblique cases OFr *empereor*] : *here* inf., *undere* [< *un* + OE *dēore*], FGT *chere* s. C *bere* s., *here* adv. 16036.
fere inf. [OFr *affer-ir*] = appertain to : *here* adv. 8101. This *fere* does not mean 'fear', as is wrongly stated by KALUZA in the Glossary. NED s. v. *fear* says that Wyclif always had the word *drede* in the signification of 'awe', 'reverence', 'fear' (God), just as in C. M. we have '*dred God*' never '*fer God*'. Moreover, according to NED, no examples are recorded before 1400 in the sense 'regard with fear, awe', as opposed to the older signification 'strike with fear, terrify'.
feris pr. : *heris* pr. 1604, 12192.
jailere s. : *dere* adv. 4433.

: *stere* [OE *stēoran*] 4449.
Iubiter : *here* inf. 6997.
litere s. : *fere* adj. [OSc *før*] 13817.
lorrer s. : *dere* adj. 8235.
maner s. : *here* inf. 11990.
messager s. : *dere* adj. 17934.
: *her* adv. 20150, 20177, 20200, 20305, 20405.
: *nere* adv. 3328, 5239.
mister [OFr *mester*] s. : *fere* adj. [OSc *før*] 20124.
: *here* pr. 10134.
: *here* adv. 18904.
: *ner* adv. 11840.
: *ser* [OSc *sér*] 1680, 2154.
: *stere* inf. [OE *stēoran*] 5560.
Oliver : *her* inf. 21910.
per [OFr *per*] = peer : *dere* adj. 4356, 24669
: *fere* [OE *ʒefēra*] 449. *fere* does not mean 'fear', as REITEMEYER erroneously considers p. 18.
: *here* adv. 9008.
Peris [OFr *Pers* = Petrus] : *feris* [OE *ʒefēra*] 13315.
plener adj. : *sere* 23578.
praiyer s. [OFr *preier*] : *dere* adj. 3441, 3978, 20624, 20653.
: *here* inf. 14258.
: *here* adv. 3272.
: *unfere* adj. 20965.
praieres : *heres* pr. 13649.
riuere s. [OFr *rivere*] : *sere* [OSc *sér*] 3506.
spaier s. [perhaps from OFr **espeier*, connected with the AN verb *espeier* = 'to cut with a sword'. NED says that the word *spaier* is of obscure origin] = opening, slit : *fere* adj. [OSc *før*] 5825.
squier s. : *her* adv. 7763.
CFG *viner* instead of *vivere* [according to STRATMANN-BRADLEY from OFr *viv(i)er* = 'vivarium, pond'] : *unfere* adj. 13764.
tresurrer : *fere* [OE *ʒefēra*] 24672.

§ 240. OFr *ē* : OE *ǣ*[2].

cher s. : *bere* [OAngl. *ȝebēre*] s. 10448.
: *were* pt. 4457, 10942, 14301, 20291 (subj.) : *were* pt., *here* adv., *ouerhere* 16350.
Eliezer : *beir* pt. [fr. OAngl. *bēron* pt. pl.] 6439.
F *emperer* : *wer* pt., *here* adv., *bere* [OE *ȝebēre*], *undere* [< *dēore*], *here* inf. 16036.
kalunder : *yeir* 24916.
maner s. : *were* pt. subj. 4067, 12791 : *were* pt. pl. 2226.
pere : *yere* 1467, 1701.
: *were* pt. subj. pl. 776.
praiyer : *yere* 3138, 9151.
selers [OFr *celer*] : *yeirs* 4686.

§ 241. OFr *e* : OE *ǣ*[1].

baner : *lere* inf. 12721.
maner : *lere* inf. 12103, 12422.
messageres : *leres* 12783.
cler adj. : *lere* inf., *here* inf., *dere* adj. 15600.

§ 242. OFr *e* : OFr *e*.

cher s. : *cler* adj. 7365, 19417.
: *maner* s. 12052, 12350.
: *messager* 8547, 10314, 24883.
: C *plenar* = *plener* 5328.
: *praier* 13989.
clere : *baner* 22763.
: *messager* 7987.
: *sauter* 11615.
fere [OFr *affer-ir*] : *maner* 9539.
fers pr. [OFr *affer-ir*] : *Ansiers* 21444.
pere : *bachelere* 8542.
per : *messager* 12720.
: *sauter* s. 7970.
Pers [OFr *Perse*] : *divers* 22097.
: *wers* [OFr *vers*] 22228.
Pers [OFr *Pers* = Petrus] : *wers* [OFr *vers*] 6999.

§ 243. OE *ēa* : *e* in unstressed syllables and words.
er s. [OE *ēare*] : *messager* 5140.
: *praier* 10514.
: *truer* (the native suffix *-er*) 21092.

§ 244. *e*, in open syllables, in self-rimes.
bere s. [OE *bera*] : *dere* [OE *derian*] 691.
for-bere inf. : *ber* inf. 24427.
: *her* s. 8089.
der inf. : *her* s. [OE *here*] 7732.
ger [OSc *geri* < *gervi*] : *bere* inf. 2597, 7533.
: *spere* s. [OE *spere*] 7727.
geyre : *were* [OE *werian*] 3300.
ger inf. [OSc *gera* < *gerva*] : *bere* inf. 11213, 22379 : pr. pl. 22143.
geres pr. : *forberes* pr. 13835.
here [OE *here*] s. : *ber* [OE *bere*] = barley 13507.
: *ber* inf. 7897.
peres pl. [OE *peru*] = pear : *beres* pr. 38.
scher [OE *sceran*] : *der* inf. 23470.
smer inf. [OE *smerian*] : *ber* inf. 7377.
spere s. [OE *spere*] : *ber* inf. 7623.
: *her* s. [OE *here*] 7806, 21839.
sper inf. [MLG. *speren*] : *ber* inf. 13329.
were [OE *werian*] : *bere* inf. 9071, 22004.
: CE *heer* 23766.
were [OE *werian*] = wear : *bere* inf. 9072.

§ 245. AN *ę̄* < *ai* : *e* in open syllables.
afers [OFr *afaire*] s. pl. : *beris* 3. sing. pr. 19965.
: *gers* 3. sing. pr. [OSc *ger*(*v*)*a*] 11962.
: C *wiers* 22115 [perhaps OE *weras* = men].

§ 246. *e* in open syllables : *e* in facultatively unstressed syllables and words.
bere s. [OE *bera* = bear] *answer* 11319.
beres s. pl. : *maners* 21899.
ber inf., imp. : *ansuer* s. 17338.
: *baner* 21351.

: *caiser* [OSc *keisari.* Orrm. *ke33sere*] 2687, 9410, 19675, 22758.
: *demster* [OE *dēmestre*] 23059.
: *Eliezer* 5712.
: C *errand berer* 3226. The other MSS. have *bere,* but only as an inf. But it is possible to have a rime *bere* : *errandbere* s. (the latter sb. recorded by NED down to the 14th cent.).
: *gospeller* [OE *godspellere*] 12582.
: *langer* comp. 12991.
: *leder* [OE *lǣdere*] 21284.
: *leier* [OE *lēȝere*] = liar 6820.
: *maner* 10872.
: *messager* 3334, 24801.
: *mightier* 22287.
: *mister* 3248, 19397.
: *morter* 5524.
: C *sauuer* G *sauer* [OFr *savere*] 10542.
: *were* pt. subj. 23591.

for-bere inf. : *ansuer* s. 19340.
der [OE *derian*] : *maner* [OFr *manere*] 23670.
ders pr. : *porters* s. pl. [OFr *porter*] 10014.
er pr. [OSc *eri* pr. pl.] : *lier* 13949.
ger s. [OSc *ger(v)i*] : *langer* 13797.
geres s. pl. : *leders* s. pl. 6222.
ger inf. [OSc *ger(v)a*] : *wisliker* 11785.
here [OE *here* s.] : *forleder* 14411.
smer [OE *smerian*] : *derner* s. 6077 : C *dirner* 6103.
: *langer* comp. 9341.
spere s. [OE *spere*] : *þer* (unstressed adv.) 21103.
: *were* pt. (unstressed) 20545.

The form *er* = 'are' is found especially in the northern dialects, which makes Scandinavian influence probable. As *er* is a word liable to become unstressed, the above rime with *er* may also be taken as a rime *ĕ* : *ĕ*.

§ 247. Facultatively unstressed syllables rimed inter se.
Ansiers : *messagers* 21414.

auter s. : *messager* 3098.
caiser : *chaier* 9953.
: *niter* 20869.
figer : *mister* 803.
foriner = forerunner : *messager* 13209.
gospeller : *super* 13435.
: *writer* 21195.
okerer : *mister* 14034.
prayer : *maner* 10487.
squier : *mister* 4669.

§ 258. Untressed syllables riming with short *e*.
jaiolere : *demster* 19310.
messager : F *onsquer* C *ansuare* s. 1890.
mister : *webster* 1526.
prayer : *ansuer* 10317.
: *demster* 9737.

These rimes are most likely to be taken as short rimes.

§ 249. Unstressed syllables riming inter se.
demster : *heiliker* comp. 22768.

§ 250. *e* lengthened in open syllables : close *ē*.
ber inf. : *her* inf. 10726, C 12227, GT 12229.
: *her* adv. 904, 3704, C 14367.

These rimes are probably to be explained according to MORSB. § 111, where he says that *ê* (also before *r*) is rimed with *ę̄*, especially in northern dialects.

Note. The rime *langer* comp. : *her* inf. 14534 is incorrect.

§ 251. *e* in unstressed syllables : close *ē*.
demster [OE *demestre*] : *yeir* 7005.
: (*hale and*) *fer* [OSc *fǫr*] adj. 22920.
gospeller [OE *godspellere*] : *her* inf. 13523.

These rimes are incorrect, or else the close *ē* in the suffix *-er* may be due to the influence of the OFrench suffix *-ę̄r*. With *gospellę̄r* compare Trevisa, who has *gospelour* with the OFr suffix *-our*.

§ 252. OE *y* lengthened in open syllables : close *ē*.
ster [OE *styrian*] : *cler* [OFr *cler*] 6055.
: *here* adv. 4959, 8229.

§ 253. OFr *e* before *rr* > *ę̄* + *r* : OE *e* lengthened in open syllables.

wer [OFr *werre*] : *ber* inf. 7355, 21842.
: *for-bere* inf. 3453.
: *dere* inf. 9889 C *werc* : *derc*.

§ 254. The rime *wer* s. : *were* pt. subj (unstressed) 2398 can also be taken as a short rime. Similarly *were* s. : *demster* 22537.

§ 255. The sb. *were* s. = doubt : *cler* [OFr *cler*] 22915.
: *dere* adj. 8746.
: *fere* s. [OE *ʒefēra*] 18392.
: *fere* adj. [OSc *fǫr*] 3829.
: *here* inf., pr. 3698, 12838, 18683, 20043, 23824.
: *here* adv. 3799.
: *maner* [OFr *manere*] 10845.
: *mister* [OFr *mester*] 20794.
weir : *sampler* [a semi-learned loan from Lat. *exemplarium;* see REITEMEYER p. 13, where it is also recorded riming with *sę̄re* adj.] 10891.
: *sere* [OSc *sér*] 9276.
: *yere* 2137, *yeire* 7070, 12135.
: *were* pt. subj. 2426.

The great number of rime-words, all containing close *ē*, prove that *were* = 'doubt' has *ę̄*. For the etymology see Etym. Sect.

-erd.

§ 256. OAngl. *ė* + *rd* : OE *ē* + *rd*, OAngl. *ē* + *rd*.

yerd s. [OAngl. *ʒėrd*] : *ferd* pt. [of OE *fēran*] 3989.
: *herd* pt., p. p. [of OAngl. *hēran*] 21671, 21702, C *yeird* FGT *ʒerd*(*e*) : *herd* pt. 5893.

§ 257. OE *ē* + *rd*, OAngl. *ē* + *rd* rimed inter se.

herd pt., p. p. : *ferd* pt. [of OE *fēran*] 3957, 4094, 5244, 5720, 8022, 19641, C *herd* pt. : C *fard* pt. 24885, C *hard* pt. : C *fard* pt. 2849, 12762.

: C *misfard* pt. 865.
: *ferd* adj. [= p. p. of OAngl. *fēran* = terrify] = afraid 6225, 21832.

§ 258. OAngl. *éa* + *rd*: OAngl. *é* + *rd*.
FGT *erd*(*e*) s. C *ertd* [OE *éard*] = native land, *ferd* adj. = afraid 2369. *erd* does not mean *earth* [OE *éorðe*], as is erroneously stated in the Glossary.
middelerd [cfr. Orrm's *middellærdes*]: *ferd* adj. 22593.

§ 259. OE *ē* + *rd*, OAngl. *ē* + *rd*: *-erd* syncopated.
ferd pt. [of OE *fēran*]: *sperd* p. p. [of OSc *sperra* or MLG *speren*] 10092.
ferd adj.: G *ansuerd* pt. 18011: C *ansuard* pt. 1735, 4143.
herd pt., p. p.: *ansuerd* p. p. 9491: C *ansuard* pt. 1303, 13887, 19665.

§ 260. OE *ē* + *rd*, OAngl. *ē* + *rd* riming with the sb. *werld*.
ferd pt., p. p. [of OE *fēran*]: *werld* s. [OSc *verǫld*; cfr. LUICK Hist. Gr. § 286, Note 3] 12001, 13206, C *fard* pt.: *werld* 5463.
ferd adj.: *werld* 11434.
herd pt., p. p.: *werld* 2891, 3458, 9322, 9376, 9650, 9696, 12127, 13134, 13650, 14815, 17486, 21525, 23654.
: C *warld* 92, *hard* p. p.: *werld* 551.
lerd pt. [of *lẹ̄r* inf. < OE *lǣran*; cfr. § 237]: *werld* 12060.

The preterites *ferd*, *lerd* and *herd* and the adjective *fera* all have a short *e*, as is proved by the rimes in the last two paragraphs. The two rimes in § 258 seem to indicate a short *e* in the sb. *erd*, too; if not, the rimes would be incorrect (*ẹ̄* : *ẹ̄*). Nothing can be inferred with certainty about the sb. *yerd*.

-ern.

§ 261. OAngl. *ē* + *rn* in self-rime.
wern pt. pl. [OAngl. *wēron*]: *bern* pt. [OAngl. *bēron*] 20715.

This rime is most probably an *ē*-rime. EILERS, p. 41, however, has a different suggestion.

§ 262. OE *éa, ēa* riming with the frequently weak-stressed *wern* pt. pl. = 'were'.
bern s. [OE *béarn*] : *wern* pt. pl. 20449.
G *ern* s. pl. [OE *ēaran*] C *hern* = ears : *wern* pt. pl. 8079.
Either short or long *e* is possible in these two rimes.

§ 263. OSc *ia* riming with *wern* pt. pl.
stern s. [OSc *stiarna*] : *wern* pt. pl. 11489.

§ 264. OSc *ia* : OE *éa* + *rn*.
sterne s. : *erne* s. [OE *éarn*] = eagle 21313.
If the rime is correct, then it must constitute an *e*-rime and *ern* accordingly contain short *e*. *Sterrne* is the usual form in Orrm., but *ærn* has long *ę̄*.

§ 265. OSc *ia* : OAngl. *é* + *rn*.
stern s. : *dern* adj. [OAngl. *dérne*] 1543, 11473.
: *dern* inf. [OAngl. *dérnan*] 11405.

§ 266. OE *éo* + *rn* : OAngl. *é* + *rn*.
lern inf. [OE *léornian*] : *wern* inf. [OAngl. *wérnan* or *wéarnian*] 12105.

§ 267. OE *éa* + *rn* : OAngl. *é* + *rn*.
ern s. : *wern* inf. 21233.
Wern inf. might possibly represent an OE *wéarnian* and then no conclusions can be drawn from this rime.

§ 268. The adv. *gern* (*yern*) [OE *ȝéorne* + OSc *giarna*] G *garn* :
CG *barn* s. = *bern* [OE *béarn*] 11476.
: *cistern* [OFr *cisterne*] 8205.
: *dern* adj. 8447, 17607, 21249.
: *lern* inf. 19027.
: *stern* s. 23587.
The rime with *barn* points to short *e* in *gern* (*yern*) adv.

§ 269. *-ern* syncopated : OFr *-ern*.

GT *bern* [OE *beran*] F *brenne* : FGT *lantern* 12911 C has *bere* : *lantere*. EILERS does not mention this rime.

No general conclusions as to the vowel-quantity in these *-ern*-words can be drawn. Only in some special cases, as shown in the above §§, can possible results be obtained.

-erth.

§ 270. OE *ēo* : OE *ēo*.

erth s. [OE *éorðe*] : *ferth* ord. [OE *féorðe*] 357, 13440.

EILERS p. 43, seems to have overlooked such an instructive spelling as *feirth* in line 9547. This may indicate a long *ē* in *ferth* = 'fourth' and the two rime-words above may consequently contain *ę̄*. No certain conclusions as to the vowel-length can be attained from these few rimes.

-ēs.

§ 271. Close *ē* in groups 1—8 rimed inter se.

C *chesse* inf. [OE *čēosan*] : C *beess* pr. 8409.

chese : *lese* inf. [OE *lēosan*] 7614, 21947.

§ 272. OFr (*i*)*e* : OFr (*i*)*e*.

pece [OFr *pece* < *piece*] : *Grece* [OFr *Griece*] 7063.

: *nece* [OFr *niece*] 11058.

§ 273. OE *æ*[1] : OE *ēa*.

res s. [OE *rǣs*, cfr. *rāsettan*] : *les* s. [OE *lēas*] 7166.

C *flexs* G *flesse* [OE *flǣsc*] : *ches* pt [OE *cēas*] 20534. The rime is possibly incorrect, as *fless* is otherwise found with short *e* in C. M.; see § 50.

§ 274. OE *æ*[1] : OE *e* lengthened in open syllable.

res s. : *blese* [OE **blese*] = blaze 8877; see further discussion of its origin in Etym. Sect.

The following rime in the next group points to the same origin. The *ę*-quality of *blese* is established by such rimes as *eis* = ease : *bleis* III 85[19] and *bleis* : *appeis* = a peace II 264[27] in Douglas; see HEUSER in Anglia XIX p. 337.

§ 275. Close *ē* : OE *e* lengthened in an open syllable.
vin-tres s. pl. : *bles* s. [OE **blesé*] = blaze 7159.
The rime is to be explained according to MORSB. § 111.

§ 276. OE *æ*[1] riming with *e* in unstressed syllables and words.
res s. : *Moyses* 6550.
res pr. sing. syncopated [of OE *rǣsan*] : *es* pr. 7773.
The rimes in §§ 273, 274, 276 prove that OE *æ*[1] = *ę*.

§ 277. OE *ēa* : OE *ēa*.
C *less* s. [OE *lēas* adj.] : *wemles* adj. 5748.

§ 278. AN *ę* < *ai, ei* rimed inter se.
es s. [AN *ese* < *aise*] : *pes* [OFr *pes* < *pais*] 8314 : *pees* 8758.
pees s. [AN *pes* < *pais*] : *males* [AN *malese* < *malaise*) 2793,
pees : *maleese* 7305, 8372.
un-pes : *males* 13306.

§ 279. AN *ę* : OE *ēa*.
(*h*)*es*(*s*) s. [OFr *ese* < *aise*] : *ches*(*s*) [OE *cēas* pt.] 13305, 22088.
malees : *faderles* adj. 6788.
pes s. [OFr *pes* < *pais*] : *ches* pt. 18304.
: *les* s. [OE *lēas* adj.] 9825, 11279 : C *less* s 9697.

§ 280. AN *ę* < *ai* : *e* in unstressed syllables and words.
es : *Rames*(*h*)*es* 5382.
: *Moyses* 6300.
pes : *Moyses* 5972.
C *pees* : C *was* = *wes* 8868.

§ 281. OE *ēa* : *e* in unstressed syllables and words.
ches pt. [OE *cēas*] : *Moyses* 143, C *chess* : *Moyses* 5644.

: *wes* pt. 20914 C *chas* : *was*.
les s. [OE *lēas*] : *es* pres. 13604.
les [OE *lēas* adj.] : *Ecclesiastes* 8464.
: *Manasses* 9181.

§ 282. OFr *ess* > *ęs* : AN *ę* < *ai, ei*.
cipres s. : *pes* s. 8828.
mes s. [OFr *mes* < *missum*] : *des* s. [OFr *deis*] 12559.

§ 283. OFr *ess* > *ęs* : *ē* in unstressed syllables.
cipres : *Moyses* 8008, 21673.
pres s. [OFr *pres, presse*] : *Moyses* 5607, 6357.
ses inf. [OFr *cesser*] : *Moyses* 6031, 6912.

-*est*.

§ 284. Close *ē* in groups 1—8 rimed inter se.
breist s. [OE *brēost*] : *neist* sup. [OAngl. *nēst*] 12710, 21022.
: C *prist* s. [OE *prēost*] 12896, 17722.
neist sup. [OAngl. *nēst*] : *preist* s. 7263, 20640. C *priste* 6948, 11497, *nest* : C *prist* 19135.

§ 285. OE *ǣ*[1] : OFr *est* > *ęst*.
lest sup. : *best* s. [OFr *beste*] 1659, 6004, 6171, 6739, 6772, 20975.
: *fest* s. [OFr *feste*] 10423.
The rimes prove that OE *ǣ*[1] before *st* = *ę*.

§ 286. OFr *est* : OFr *est*.
beist s. : *honest* 19849, 22913.
: *tempest* 6027.
fest s. : *gest* s. [OFr *geste*] 7255. REITEMEYER erroneously gives *gest* = 'guest'.

§ 287. OE *ēa, ǣ*,[1] OFr *est* : *ē* in unstressed syllables.
best s. : *hardest* sup. 22207.
: *likest* sup. 5955.

beist s. : *unfelunest* sup. 6039.
best s. : *unwiliest* sup. 737.
est s. [OE *ēast*] : *mightiest* sup. 3384.
lest sup. [OE *lǣst*] : *yongest* 4849.

§ 288. Note. The rimes point to short *e* in the following cases:
be(i)st s. : *brest* s. [OE *brēost*] 893.
: *e(i)st* adj. [OAngl. *ēst,* Orrm. has *esste*] 3610.
perhaps in *est* s. [OE *ēast*] : *best* sup. 2474.
forest s. [OFr *foreste*] : *best* sup. 3608.
: *rest* 6317.
perhaps in *lest* sup. [OE *lǣst*] : *west* s. 2119.
prest adj. [OFr *prest*] : *best* sup. 25, 3449.
: *fest* pt. [of OE *fæstan* + OSc *festa*] 21255, EG 22061.

-ēt.

§ 289. Close *ē* in groups 1—8 rimed inter se.
bete inf. [OE *bētan*] : *fete* s. pl. 11825,
: *swet(t)e* adj. [OE *swēte*] 105, 23978.
gret pt. [OAngl. *gret*] = wept : *bete* inf. [OE *bētan*] 4765.
: *fete* pl. 20081.
het s. [from *hẹ̄t(e)* inf. taken over from OE *hēt* pt.] = promise :
fete pl. 11897.
let pt. [OE *lēt*] : *bete* inf. [OE *bētan*] 747, 18692.
: *fete* s. pl. 14053, 14090.
: *mete* inf. 7674.
sket adv. [OSc *skiótr*] : *fete* s. pl. 4171, 11335.
suet(e) adj. [OE *swēte*] : *bete* inf. [OE *bētan*] 9591.
: *fete* s. pl. 12364.
: *gret(t)* s. [OE *grēot*] = grit 9938.
yete adv. [OAngl. *ȝēt*] : *mete* inf. 1198.

§ 290. OE *ǣ*[2] : Close *ē* in groups 1—8.
ete pt. [from OAngl. *ēton* pt. pl.] : *forlete* pt. 9447, 13295.
: *skete* [OSc *skiótr*] 5706.
gret inf. [OAngl. *grētan*] : *bete* inf. [OE *bētan*] 23817.
: *fete* s. pl. 24307.

gret sb. = weeping [from the OAngl. verb *grētan*] : *fet* 189, 4930.
: *let* pt. 12495.
: *swete* adj. 14008, 24500.
lete inf. [OAngl. *lētan*] : *flete* inf. 4783.
for-lete inf. : *fete* s. pl. 21777.
: *mete* inf. 4005.
: *suete* adj. 24092, 24129, 24282.
forleit inf. : *yeit* adv. 2288.
mete adj. [OAngl. **ʒemēte*] : *suete* adv. 3675.
un-mete adj. : *bete* inf. [OE *bētan*] 23035.
: *suete* adj. 9362.
strete s. : *fete* s. pl. 19921, 22013.
: *mete* inf. 3353, 6182, 8072, 11541, 13526, 17643, 19275, 19730, 23727.
: *suete* adj. 14942.
: *mete* adj., *suete* adj., *skete* [OSc *skiótr*] 15190.
wet adj. [OAngl. *wēt*] : *fete* s. pl. 18308, 18688, 20543.

§ 291. OE $\bar{æ}^2$: OE $\bar{æ}^2$.
ete pt. [from OAngl. *ēton* pt. pl.] : *mete* adj. [OAngl. **ʒemēte*] 22898.
: *strete* s. 4175.
strete s. : *unmete* adj., *let* pt., *swet* adj. 16568.
wete s. [OAngl. *wēta*] = wetness : *strete* s. 18547.

§ 292. OFr *e* : close *e* of the groups 1—8 and OE $\bar{æ}^2$.
Olivet : *fete* s. pl. 14940.
: *suete* adj. 17483, 18762.
: *gret* s. [OAngl. inf. *grētan*], *feet, skete* 15582.
prophet : *bete* inf. [OE *bētan*] 9789, 13218, 22415.
: *fete* s. pl: 14022, 18375.
: *het* pt. 10719, 14424, 14782 : p. p. (from the preterite) 6872.
: *lete* inf. [OAngl. *lētan*] 22295.
: *let* pt. 9149, 14608, 19523.
: *mete* inf. 22964.
: *sete* pt. [OAngl. *sēton*] 18871.
: *skete* adv. 7395, C *schet* 2987.
: *strete* s. 17903.

§ 293. OFr *e* : OFr *e*.
Olivet : *prophet* 22981.

§ 294. OE *ǣ*[1] : OE *ēa*.
hete s. [OE *hǣto*] : *gret* adj. [OE *grēat*] 10049, 11733, 18527.
: *grete* inf. [OE *grēatian*] 4699.
quete s. [OE *hwǣte*] : FGT *grete* C *grette* adj. 4577.

§ 295. OE *ǣ*[1] : OE *ǣ*[1].
hete s. [OE *hǣto*] : *swete* inf. [OE *swǣtan*] 11871.

§ 296. OE *ǣ*[1] : OSc *é*.
hete s. : *gete* inf. [OSc *gétta*] 998.

§ 297. OE *ǣ*[1] : *e* lengthened in an open syllable.
hete s. : *ete* pr. subj. 23279.

The rimes in §§ 294, 296 are specially interesting, as they certainly prove that OE *ǣ*[1] before *t*, which was a dental consonant, was an open *ę̄* in the dialect in question.

§ 298. OE *ēa* : OE *ēa*.
nete s. [OE *nēat*] : *gret* adj. 3019, C *nett* : *grett* 4597.

§ 299. *e* lengthened in an open syllable : OE *ēa*.
ete inf. : *gret* adj. 19833.

Note. Such a rime as C *at ete*, E *at ette* : *suę̄te* adj. 22720 is to be explained according to MORSB. § 111.

§ 300. OSc *é* : OE *ēa*.
sete s. [OSc *séti* or OE *ʒeset* n. in oblique cases. Cfr. PALMGR. Grad.-nouns p. 45] : *gret* adj. 13371.

The rime *sete* s. [OE *ʒeset* in oblique cases] : *let* pt., *fet* pl., *met* adj. 15282 is to be explained acc. to MORSB. § 111.

§ 301. *e* in open syllables : *e*.
ete inf. [OE *etan*] : *lete* inf. [OE *lettan*] 19869.
: *mete* s. [ONorth. *mett*] 3684, 6165, 18973.

ette : *sett* p. p. 1016, 12558, 13501.
gett inf. [OSc *geta*] : *dett* s. [OFr *dette*] 21427.
: *lett* p. p. [of OE *lettan*] 10326, 11979.
: *mete* s. 13469.
get inf. : *recett* s. [OFr *recet*] 5300.
: *sette* p. p. 460, 4990, 7902, 17947.
for-gett inf. : *mete* p. p. [of OE *mētan*], *lett* s., *bett* p. p., *sett* p. p. [of OE *settan*] 15556.
forgett p. p. : *lett* s., *umsett* p. p., *sett* p. p. 15806.
mett p. p. [OE *meten* of *metan* inf.] : *sett* p. p. 9949.

The lengthening of the vowel before *t* has not always taken place; the same phenomenon has been shown before in the case of *e* + *k*; see § 183.

§ 302. *e*, facultatively lengthened in open syllables, rimed inter se.
ete inf. : *gete* inf. 3603, 3629, 11669, 19853.
: *forget* pr. 1685.
etten p. p. : *forgeten* p. p. 874.
eten s. [OE *ęoton*] : *geten* p. p. 7443.
: *forgeten* p. p. 21708.
geten p. p. : *forgeten* p. p. 13042, 14798, 24903.

§ 303. *i* lengthened in open syllables : *ę̄*.
sete (*seit*) inf. [from OE *sites* pr.] = to sit : *fete* s, pl. 14734.
T *sete* CG *sitte* : *Olivet* 17743. The rime may perhaps also be taken as *sit* : *Olivēt*.
: *suete* adj. 8291.
: *strete*, *gret*(*t*) pt. [OE *grēt*] = wept, *mete* inf. 15002.
weit inf. [OE *witan*] : *yeit* [OE *gēt*] 1875.
C *wijt* G *witt* inf. : CG *yeitt* adv. 13083. the vowel in *yeit* can also be short; see the last rimes in § 62.

Luick in his Untersuchungen gives another explanation of the long *ē* in *set* inf. = 'to sit'. He says nothing about the quality of this long *ē*, but he seems to presume that it is open, because he takes this verb *sēt* to originate from the substantive *sę̄t* = 'seat'. Yet the rimes all prove that *sēt* inf. contains a close *ē*. In § 300 I have shown that the subst. has an open *ę̄*. I derive *sēt* inf.

from the form of the present singular OE *sites,* which was the most frequent form of the present tense and so gradually became prevalent throughout the present tense, as was the case with the verbs *lī*, *sai, bī* and others.

§ 304. OE *i,* lengthened in open syllables, in self-rimes.
C *seit* F *sete* GT *sitt* inf. : *witt* inf. 8359.
C *be-seeten* for *besceten* F *be-shetin* EG *bischitin* p. p. [OE *sciten*] :
C *beten* EFG *bitin* p. p. [OE *biten*] 22397.
The rimes can also be interpreted as *i* : *i*.

§ 305. The sb. F *be-ȝete* G *biȝeitt* C *biyett* s. : *gret* adj. 2205.
The rime shows that *biȝeitt* probably had *ę̄*. Orrm. has this noun in the form *biȝæte*. In § 126, where the parallel form C *bygate, biȝate* occurs, I have tried to give an explanation of the two forms as originating from ONorth. *biȝēat-* and with shifting of stress *biȝeāt*.

-ēth.

§ 306. Close *ē* in groups 1—8 rimed inter se.
reth [OE *hrēþe*] adj. *smeth* adj. [OE *smēþe*] 21962, 22145, 24838.

§ 307. OE *ǣ*[1] : OSc *ǽ*.
leth s. [ONorth. *lǣþo, lǣþþo*] : *breth* s. [OSc *brǽðr*] 5572.
wreth inf. [OE *wrǣþan*] : *breth* s. 18221. Wyclif has the spelling *breeth*.
The rimes show that OE *ǣ*[1] = *ę̄* before *th;* but *wreth* inf. may also have a short *e* from the sb. *wreth* (see § 308) and perhaps *breth* s. too (cfr. Orrm. *braþþe;* see LAMBERTZ p. 58).

§ 308. OE *ǣ*[1] in self-rimes.
wreth s. [OE *wrǣþo* beside *wrǣþþo*] : *leth* s. [ONorth. *lǣþo* beside OE *lǣþþo*] 32, 12056. These rimes may equally well be taken as short rimes.

§ 309. OE *ǣ* : OE *ēa*.
meth s. [OE *mǣþ* < WGerm. **māþiz*] : *eth* adv. [OE *ēaþe*] 10013.

§ 310. OE *æ*[2] : *e* in unstressed syllables.
meth adj. [from the same stem as OE *mæþ r*] : *Elizabeth* 10152.
: *Nazareth* 12271.

§ 311. OE *ēa* : *e* in unstressed syllables.
eth adv. [OE *ēaþe,* Orrm. *æþe*] : *Helisabeth* 3426.
: *hundreth* [OSc *hundraþ*] 9228, 13482.
: *moneth* 11219, 24913.
FGT *eth* C *fullet*: *Nazareth* 12638.
: *Obeth* 7858.

The rimes in the three last §§ prove that *meth* s. and adj. has *ę̄* < ONorth. *ǣ* < WGerm. *ā*. In E.E.Ps. *meth* s. is also rimed with *eth* adv. (see MÄTZNER Wörterb.) and in Castle off Love, a S. E.-Midland poem, too. Orrm. always has *mæþ,* seven instances in MÄTZNER. Note that the word is nowhere recorded riming with *ę̄*.

§ 312. OE *e,* facultatively lengthened in an open syllable, rimed inter se.
benethen [OE *beneoþan*] : CGT *heþen* [OSc *heðan*] 22677 EF *heuvin.*
in all MSS. *he þen* which must be emended to *heþen* : *emeþen* [OSc *emeðan*] 5117.
heþen : *heuen* 18031.
queþen [OSc *hweðan, hwaðan*] : *þeþen* [OSc *þeðan*] 17391.

-ēv.

§ 313. Close *ē* in groups 1—8 rimed inter se.
leue s. [OE *lēaf,* but influenced by the OAngl. verb *lēfan*] = leave: *leue* inf. [OAngl. *lēfan*] 6034.
: *leue* [OE *lēof* adj.] 8340.
: *thef* [OE *þēof* s.] 14744.

§ 314. Close *ē* : OFr *ę̄*.
leue s. = leave : *breue* s. [OFr *bref*] 19605.
: *greue* inf. [OFr *grever*] 2919, 5950, 24731.
leue adj. [OE *lēof*] : *greue* inf. 24367.

§ 315. OE *æ*[1] : OE *ea*.

leue inf. [OE *læfan*] : *reue* [OE *rēafian*] 13065, 14647.

leued p. p. : *heued* s. inf. [OE *hēafod*] 6083, 13745, 20865 : CFT *heued* s. G *hefd* 7735.

bi-leue [OE *bilæfan*] : *reue* inf. 14501.

bi-leued : *heued* s. 23438.

FGT *reued* C *refd* pt. : *heued* s. 4487.

Consequently OE *æ*[1] = *ę̄* in this dialect.

§ 316. Long close *ę̄* or short *i* is possible in :

fordriuin p. p. [OE *-drifen*] : EG *reuin* p. p. [OE *rifen*] 22635.

§ 317. The sb. *weue* = vapour? : *bileue* inf. 22927.

Judging from this single rime *weue* s. ought to have an open *ę̄*. STRATM.-BRADLEY considers that *weue* s. is connected in some way with OE *wæfan* < **waibjan* = move. This stem *wæf-* is also found in OE *wæfels*. The Teut. stem **waib-* occurs in Icel. *veifa* = 'move to and fro, brandish', OHG. *weibon* 'fluctuate'. Compare Lat. *vapor* with such words as Icel. *vafra* = waver, OE *wafian*. Perhaps the sb. *weue* is due to the verb *wæfan*, just as NE *wave* is due to the verb *wave* < OE *wafian*. A long open *ę̄* in *wę̄f* s. is proved by a rime *dę̄f* adj. [OE *dēaf*] : *wę̄f* 'The Debate of the body and the soul'.

ī.

§ 318. OE *ī* in self-rimes.

bide inf. : *side* s. 6191, 6306, 8189, 18431, 24555 : *bi-side* 5681, 7589.

: *tide* s. 956, 5093, 12564, 12997, 21512, 22736, 23734, 24388, 24610 : C (*an*) *euentide* FG *euentide* 2518.

: *betide* inf. 11050, 13777, 21875, 22443.

: FGT *side, tide, wide* 16744.

s. [fr. the verb] : *side* s. 1762, 6276, 7338.

: *paske-tide* s. 18618.

: *betide* inf. 4528.
: *wide* adv. 18095, 18125.
abide inf. : *be-side* 4859.
: *tide* s. 12921, 21931, 23020.
: *betide* inf. 3274.
bite inf. : *quite* adj. [OE *hwīt*] 23468.
blith adj. : *liue* s. (ass.) 2641.
: *sith* s. [OE *sīþ*] 1337, 1399, 6583, 7612, 8052, 11065, 14215, 24265.
: *suith* adv. [OE *swīþe*] 1936, 4782, 5000, 10378, 10554, 11748, C *blyth* : *suyth* 2251.
un-blith : *sith* s. 14867.
chide inf. [OE *cīdan*] : *bide* inf. 12973.
dik s. : *like* inf. 9939.
dikes pl. : FGT *likes* pr. [OE *līcian*] C *liges* 10064.
driue inf., pr. : *on liue* [OE *līf*] 9672.
: *wiue* s. [OE *wīf*] 1910.
fordrīue inf. : C *lijf* s. 23754.
duine [OE *dwīnan*] : *schine* inf. 23695, C incorrectly has *be scene*.
ferlik s. [OAngl. *fērlīk*] : *lik* adj. 9845.
fiue num. : *liue* s. 1456, 2084, 2173, 2355, 2760, 3399, 9148, 20876.
: *wiue* s. 19134.
glide inf. : *biside* adv. 11608.
grise inf. [OE **grīsan* in *a-grīsan*] : *rise* inf. 21826, 21972, 22150, 22630.
: *wise* s. 7983.
grise adj. [prob. related to OE (*a-*)*grīsan*] : *rise* inf. 18650.
: *wis* s. 23250.
knijf s. : *liue* s. 7512.
lijf s. : *wijf* s. 991, 1048, 1192, 1528, 1810, 1969, 2720, 2976, 3216, 3980, 4145, 5095, 5283, 6476, 6699, 7009, 7214, 7482, 7830, 7910, 8501, 8744, 9004, 10193, 10337, 10519, 10758, 11019, 11137, 11564, 13003, 13011, 13051, 14265, 19032, 19154, 19304, 20636, 20888, 21185, 21374, 21560, 23335, 23866.

lifes pl.: *wifis* pl. 1925, 5234, 6793, 8374, 9676, 21729, 23082.
: *midwives* 5550.
bi-liue adv.: *liue* s. 5022: *o liue* 2477, 14224, 18777.
: *riue* inf. 7507.
lik(e) adj. [OE *ȝelīc*]: *lik* inf. [OE *līcian*] 23429.
: *king-rike* s. 4595.
likes pr. [OE *līcias*]: EFGT *suikes* pr. 23838.
ilike adv. [OE *ȝelīce*]: *rike* adj. 18445.
mislik inf. [OE *mislīcian*]: *rike* adj. 11312.
s. [from the verb]: *kingrike* s. 5911.
mine pron.: *þine* pron. 2601, 3090, 8638, 8684, 18305.
mith inf. [OE *mīþan*]: *blith* adj. 10426.
: *sith* s. 24193.
pine s. [OE *pīn* recorded in *pīntreow*]: *mine* pron. 19682, 23958, 24191.
: *suine* s. 4712.
: *þine* pron. 8369, 18286, 19577, 19668, 20072, 24222, 24302.
quile s. [OE *hwīl*]: *quile* s. [OE *hwīl*] 14655: *um-quile* 21930.
rijf adj. [OE *rīfe*]: *lijf* s. 1593, 7696, 8532, 13272, 13351, 14365, 17852, 18662.
: *wijf* s. 13019.
rike adj.: *like* adj. 9, 2091, 5134, 9524, 20578.
: *rike* s. 24821: *kingrike* 415, C 4872, 5209, 5325, 7598, 8575.
: *suike* inf. 1796.
rine inf. [OE *hrīnan*]: *mine* pron. 24461.
rise inf.: *wise* s. 8301, 11550, 11972, 12346, 13963, 14261, 17528, 21703, 21872, 22173, 22564, 23926, 24788.
: *wise* adj. 8215, 9170, 14494, 22009, 24691: *rightwis* adj. 21986: *unwise* adj. 22863.
up-rise inf.: *rightwis* adj. 19106.
: *wise* s. 17474, 18681, 22816, 22909, 22956, 24258.
side s.: *ride* inf. 1844.
: *tide* s. 985, 5386, 5734, 12335, 20921: F *heruest-tide* C *herueistide* 4059.

: *wide* adj. 1682, 2462, 17140, 18694, 21666: *unwide* adv. 8667.
siþ s.: *suith* adj. 5214, 6422, 18119.
eftsyth [OE *eftsīþ*]: *blith* 24523.
: *suith* 1901, 13739.
smite inf. [OE *smītan*]: *wite* s. [OE *wīte*] 5667, 21015.
stride inf. [OE *strīdan*]: *abide* 10236.
s.: *beside* 10592.
suike s. [from the OE verb *swīcan*]: *like* adj. 19520.
: *rike* adj. 5168, 18259.
: *biscoprike* 11459, 13146.
: *kingrike* 18891.
besuik inf.: *kingrike* 2997.
besuikes pr.: *likes* pr. 19232.
suime s. [OE *swīma*]: *time* 14201.
thriue inf.: *o liue* 12139.
tide s.: *ouerbide* inf. 3008.
: *biside* 2703.
: *wide* adj. 13702.
morntide s.: *bi-side* 6334.
be-tide inf.: *ouer-bide* 5458.
: *side* s. 22825, 23600.
: *tide* s. 6900.
wide s.: *side* s. 5027.
GT *wide* adv. CE (*in waful*) *wide*: *side* s. 23104.
wide inf. [from *wid* adj.]: *side* s. 8232.
wise s.: *wise* adj. 3292.
: *unwise* 2223.
wis adj.: *rihtwis* 8747, 9626, 10699,
writh pr. pl. [OE *wrīþan*]: *stith* adj. 3462.

Note. The rimes *min* pron.: *þrin* num. [OSc *þrinnr*] 563 and *wite* p. p. [OE *witen* p. p. of *wītan*] = flown away: *quitte* adj. [OE *hwit*] 10552, both rimes occurring only in MS. C, are probably incorrect. Cfr. Notes.

§ 319. OE *ȳ*: OE *ī*.

bike s. [OE *bȳce, bȳc;* see further EKWALL in HERRIG's Archiv 1906, Band 116, pp. 97—99]: *ilike* adv. [OE *ȝelīce*] 76.

bride s. [OE *brȳa*] : *tide* s. 13425.
file inf. [OE *fȳlan*] : *quile* s. 9044, 10136.
: *wil* s. [OE *wīl*] 4154.
fire s. : *suire* s. [OAngl. *swīra* < **swirhian-*] 17372.
hide s. [OE *hȳd*] : *bide* s. 21550.
: *side* s. 8086.
: *tide* s. 24001.
hide inf. : *bide* inf. 869 : s. 5609, 10039.
: *abide* inf. 4901.
: *ouerbide* inf. 22687.
: *side* s. 7786, 9912, 13853.
: *tide* s. 778, 1084, 4857, C *hidd* : *tid* 6364.
pr. pl. : *wide* 1763.
un-hide inf. : *bitide* inf. 7230.
pride s. [OE *prȳd*] : *abide* 465, 9666, 22038.
: *side* 1793, 7547, 10109, 11817, 13426, 21049, 23752.
: *biside* 2966.
: *tide* s. 448, 1994, 4727, 7290, 21983, 22100, 22230.
: *bitide* pr. 22221.
: *wide* s., adj. 1647, 2201, 22135.
: *bide, bitide, tide* 15164.
kith inf. [OE *cȳþan*] : *blith* adj. 829, 1873, 4011, 4275, 10963, 11635, 13085, 22518, C *kyeth* inf. : *blith* adj. 22862.
C *kyeth* inf. : *mithe* [OE *mīþan*] inf. 22738, G *keid* : *mith* inf. 17976.
: *sith* 7051, 11119, 13094.
: *oftsiþe* 14202.
: *suithe* 24171.
unride adj. [OE *unȝerȳde*] : *side* s. 24845.

§ 320. OE *ȳ* in self-rimes.
hide s. : *hide* inf. 935, 2250.
hire s. [OE *hȳr*] : *fire* s. 23192.
pride s. : *hide* inf. 1077.

§ 321. OSc *í, ý* : OE *ī, ȳ*.
gripe s. [OSc *grípr*] = vulture : *ripe* inf. 11813.
lite s. [from OSc *hlíta* inf.] : *quite* adj. 18772.
: *write* inf. 5324, FGT 7895, 18517.
nite inf. [OSc *níta*] : *wite* s. 883.
: *wīte* inf. [OE *wītian*] 18411, 19200.
riue inf. [OSc *rífa*] : *driue* inf. 9100 : *ute-driue* inf. 1767.
sit s. [OSc **sýt, sýta*] : *bite* inf. 9438.
: *wite* s. 24072.
skilwis adj. [OSc *skilvíss*] : *unwise* adj. 6527.
slik adj. [OSc *slíkr*] : *ferlik* s. 12908.
: *like* adj. 9776, 9853, 23400, 23574.
: *lik* inf. 21951.
: *rike* adj. 13713.
: *kingrike* s. 4616, C 4829, 5952.
: *suike* inf. 4371, 9031.
: *suike* s. [from the verb] 4428, 6785, 11556.
tine inf. [OSc *týna*] : *mine* pron. 21819.
: *pine* s. 4774.
: *þine* pron. 21460.
tite adv. [OSc *títt*] : *bite* inf. 8493.
: *quite* adj. 8120, 18497.
: *smite* inf. 3174, 6250.
: *wite* s. 500, 4585.
: *write* inf. 11087.
: *flit* s., *wite, smite* C *smete* 15800.

Note. The rimes *riue* inf. : GT *cliue* s. F *clive* [OE *clive* in oblique cases] = 'cliff' C *kniue* 1856, and CG *slik* E *schilk* : *wick* adj. [OE *wicca*] 23153 are probably incorrect.

§ 322. OSc *í, ý* in self-rimes.
lijt s. [from OSc *hlíta* inf.] : *sijt* s. [OSc **sýt, sýta*] 4776.
sit s. : *tit* adv. [OSc *títt*] 10961.

§ 323. OFr, Lat. *ī* : OE *ī, ȳ*, OSc *í, ý*.
abortiues : *o-liues* 22849.
Affrik(e) [OFr *Afrique*] : *rik* adj. 5119.

: *suike* s. [from the verb OE *swīcan;* see § 318] 2098.
: *wike* s. [OSc *vík*] = corner 2089. KALUZA wrongly translates *wike* as 'villain', thus representing OE *wicca*. In that case *wike* would have short *i*, riming with the long *ī* in *Affrik*. *wike*, however, refers to Europe, not to Iaphet.

Allexandri : *bi* s. [OSc *býr*] = town 21251.
architricline : *win* s. [OE *wīn*] 13359, 13398, 14445.
Arimathi : *qui* 17310.
Armeni : *bi* s. = town 21152.
asise s. : *rise* 19344.
: *up-rise* 22782.
awise s. [OFr *avis*] : *wise* adj. 9067.
baili s. [OFr *bailli*] : *qui* adv. 5008.
: *for-þi* 8553.
baili s. [OFr *baillie*] : *for-þi* 10027.
baptime s. [OFr **baptime* < Lat. *baptismus*] : *time* s. 12776, 18714, 19547, 19953.
baptise inf. : *wise* s. 19956.
: *wise* adj. 19550.
caitif : *lijf* s. 13633, 13793.
circumsise : *wis* s. 2668.
Corneli : *bi* prep. 19811.
: *forþi* 19918.
cosin : *mine* 12856, 20554.
couaitis : *un-wis* 17448.
cri : *bi* s. 17804.
: *bi* prep. 11332, 14351 : *þar-bi* 23306.
: *qui* adv. 6606, 12284.
: *scki* s. [OSc *ský*] 2741.
: *for-þi* 3064, 9719.
curtesi : *for-þi* 24571.
Davi : *quar-bi* 7801 : *þar-bi* 8147.
: *for-þi* 7628.
delite s. : *site* s. 23339, 23628, C *sete* 18158.
: *wite* inf. [OE *wītan*] 21934.
despite : *flite* inf. 7556, 12087.

: *smite* pr. 6677.
: *wite* s. 10393, 24509.
deuise : *rise* inf. 11576.
: *wise* s. 9896.
FGT *discriue* C *discreue* : *liue* s. 12246.
Eline : *pine* s. 21497.
Elsi : *quar-bi* 24909.
CG *Elsis* EF *Elis* : *wis* adj. 24800.
emprise : *rise* 9801.
enuy s. : *for-qui* 4139.
exil : *quil(l)e* s. 2582, 5453.
feloni : *qui* 24507.
C *feloni* : *for-þi* 10257.
fin(e) s. : *pine* s. 22209, 23200.
: *þin* pron. 8802.
fine inf. : *pine* s. 21404.
: *þine* pron. 20032.
folise s. pl. : *wise* inf. 23633.
gile s. [AN *gile*] : *um-quile* 21937.
G *begile* inf. [< *be* + OFr *guiler*] C *bewill* : *file* s. [OSc *fýla*, see BJÖRKM. Loanw. p. 210] 715.
: *quile* s. 22064, 22162.
gloteri : *bi* prep. 10113.
Gregori : *þar-bi* 22887.
: *for-þi* 22399.
heloy [from Hebr.] = my God : *qui* 24405.
herbergeri : *for-þi* 9875.
heremit s. : *lijt* s. [from OSc *hlíta*] 8164, 17899.
ile s. = isle : *quite* s. 5621, 21037.
ire s. : *fire* s. 1981.
justice : *wise* s. 1980, 22783.
: *wise* adj. 150.
: *rightwis* adj. 12915.
batine : *rime* s. [OE *rīm*] (ass.) 23.
: *time* s. (ass.) 7040.
Leui : *bi* s. 13291.
: *qui* adv. 12186.
leuit : FGT *write* inf. 21242.

licherie : *bi* prep. 10329.
maistri : *bi* prep. 2208.
: *for-qui* 14832.
maistris s. pl. : *wis* adj. 14611.
mametri : *for-þi* 9187.
marchandis : *wis* adj. 4197.
Mari : *þar-bi* 12093.
: *forqui* 11157.
: *for-þi* 13223, 14071 : *ne-for-þi* 10755.
medicine s. : *rine* inf. [OE *hrīnan*] 19278, 21231.
: *tine* inf. [OSc *týna*] 9457.
FGT *medicine* s. C *medicen* : *pine* s. 1377.
merci : *for-qui* adv. 814, 9544, 20646.
: *for-þi* 9705, 9809.
multipli : *for-þi* 2626, 3191, 3435.
C *nice* adj. [OFr *nice*] written in a later hand : *wise* adj. 7303.
Nile : *quile* s. 4777 : *sumquile* 4752.
paradise [OFr *paradis*] : *rise* inf. 18614, 21651.
: *wis* s. 8169, 18262.
: *wis* adj. 657, 21026.
: *unwise* 1258.
: *wise* inf. [OE *wīsian*] 17931, GT *wise* syncopated pr. sing. form C *wises* 21272, FGT *wis(e)* inf. C *wiss* 1286.
parfit adj. : *quit* adj. 12484.
: *site* s. 11626, 23361.
parti s. : *bi* 6630, 11582.
: *for-þi* 370.
partis s. : *wis* adj. 344, 21585.
pris s. : *ris* inf. 22330.
: *up-ris* s. [from the verb] 18571.
: *wise* adj. 436, 4614, 9518, 10416.
: *un-wise* adj. 12006.
GT *prophecies* pl. CF *prophetis* : *rise* inf. 19113.
quite adj. [OFr *quite*] : *site* s. 6288, 21486, 23649, 23700.
: *smite* inf. 7721.
: *wite* s. 1647, 6578, 6714.
: *wite* inf. [OE *wītian*] 17446.

quite inf. [OFr *quiter*] : *lite* s. [from OSc *hlíta*] 6679.
: *nite* inf. [OSc *níta*] 21823.
: *smite* pr. 6707.
: *wite* s. 14857.
relike s. : *like* adj. 24665, C *relicke* : *like* 21368.
: *kingrike* 8272.
: *slik* adj. 8002.
: *suike* s. [from the OE verb *swīcan*] 6515.
riue inf. [OFr *riuer*] = arrive. The word is omitted by KALUZA in his Glossary : *liue* s. 1839.
sacrifice s. : *wis* s. 2578, 3141, 6063.
: *wis* adj. 1937.
: C *rightwys* 1064.
T *seisin* CFG *sesin* s. [OFr *saisine*] : *þine* pron. 3360.
Samari : *bi* s. = town 19511.
G *Sarazine* C *Sarȝine* : *time* s. (ass.) 11071.
GT *scrite* s. C *scritte* [OFr *escrit*] : GT *lite* s. [from OSc *hlíta*] C *let* 17634.
CFGT *scrite* s. : *write* inf. 18492.
service s. : *rise* inf. 11692, 14102, 22370.
: *wise* s. 695, 1933, 3887, 7617, 9486, 10241, 10948, 12359, 20310, 21905, 22775, 24919, 24932 : C *wisse* s. 20769.
: *wis* adj. 4271, 4421, 5481, 7371, 10623, 11600, 24242.
: *oþerwise* adv. 3888.
sire s. : *fire* s. 21785.
stile s. : *quile* s. 8509, C *stille* s. : C *quille* s. 13001.
strijf s. [OFr *estrif*] : *lijf* s. 7, 1073, 1480, 1850, 3475, 8376, 8429, 12285, 13243, 13311, 13342, 14671, 17832, 18567, 19368, 19562, 20114, 21224, 21336, 22772, 23726, 24141, 24165, 24542, 24573 : *on lijf* 15544.
: *rijf* adj. 178, 840, 8587, 14838, 22224.
: *wijf* s. 726, 830, 1793, 2963, 4621, 7080, 7094, 7190, 10170, 13699, 23755.
striue inf. [OFr *estriver*] : *fiue* num. 2493.

: *liue* s. 9305, 11570, 23572, 23631, 23745.
: *driue, bi-liue, liue* s. 16400.
sutile adj. : *wile* s. [OE *wīl*] 4750.
trecheri : *bi* prep. 20889,
truandise : *wis* adj. 254.
Uri : *bi* prep. 7944.
: *for-þi* 7907.
wastin s. [OFr *wastine*] : *brine* s. [OE *brīne*] 6347.
vile adj. : *quile* s. 1824.
G *visite* C *visete* : *lite* s. [from OSc *hlíta*] 5790.
: G *site* s. 17921.
Zachari : *qui* adv. 11085.

The rime *paradis* : *blis* s. [OE *bliss*] 606 (see § 63) is probably inaccurate.

§ 324. OFr, Lat. *ī* in self-rimes.
Abysai : *Daui* 7718.
Adonai : *Moisi* 17825.
F *Ansiere* G *Ansire* C *Aufrer* (cfr. *Ansiers* ll. 21413 and 21443)
: *ire* s. [OFr *ire*] 21475.
Arabi : *Suli* 2106.
Arimathi : *Goli* 17328.
Asi : *Galathi* 20877.
asise s. : G *couaitise* C *couaittiyse* s. 10112.
: *justice* 9687, 9707, 19104.
Austine : *fine* inf. [OFr *finir*] 22584.
baillie [OFr *bailli*] : *envie* 9557.
baili [OFr *baillie*] : *foli* 9552.
Bethani : *Mari* 14129.
caitive : *positif* 9449.
Cherubin : *Seraphin* 22600.
circumsise : *maistris* s. pl. 22298.
consile s. [OFr *concile*] : *quile* s., *gile* s., *stile* s. 16076.
Constantine : *Eline* 21375, 21408, 21599.
: *fine* adj. 21782.
cri : *Daui* 7738, 18134.
: *felunny* 1131.
: *Ysai* 17877, 18117.

: *Mari* 11952, 20722.
: *merci* 486, 4716, 6804, 7342, 9594, 10098, 22524, 24180.
Daui : *Goli* 148.
FT *delices* C *delites* : *species* s. pl. 1027.
despite s. : *quite* inf. 7568, 7834.
deuis inf. : *pris* s. 8980.
Dotaim : GT *Cechim* 2187 = Kittim. C has *Antechim,* erroneously written for *an* (= one; cfr. *oon* in MS. T) *Cechim* with *t* instead of *c,* owing to the frequent confusion of *c* and *t.* KALUZA's suggestion in the Index of Names that C *Antechim* should be analysed as *and Techim* is probably wrong, as it would give no sense. This rime may equally well be taken as a short rime.
empire s. : *sire* 22256, 22320.
empıise s. [OFr *emprise*] : *seruise* s. 8184.
G *enui* : *glori* 10044.
: *maistri* 721.
: *Marie* 12489.
exil s. : *vile* adj. 1154.
feloni : *vilani* 7832.
fin s. : *Calamine* 21101.
foli : *cri* 22618.
: *Ysai* 705.
: *merci* 2789.
genelogi : *Daui* 7845.
: *Leui* 5601.
gentil : *peril* 4050.
gesine [OFr *gesine*] : *fine* s. 3905.
Heli F *Elie* [Lat., in the Vulgate *Heli*] : *parti* 12810.
: *Ieremi* 9345.
herbergeri : *Daui* 8285.
Hispani : *Lumbardi* 20947.
Indie : *Ethiopie* 2116.
ire s. : *sire* 2367, 8799, 14759.
Ysai : *Ieremi* 22440.

Itali : *Lumbardi* 20880.
justice : *seruise* s. 4618.
Leui : *mametri* 6623.
: *Mari* 12170.
Libi(e) : *melodie* s. 7020.
: *parti* s. 2110.
Lichaoni : *Suli* 21105.
licherie : *multipli* 3392.
: *trecheri* 23138.
: *wilanie* 2422.
maistri : *wictori* 18335.
merci : *Mari* 10145.
: *progeny* 1361.
: *propheci* 1605.
Mesipotami : *Ponthi* 21150.
offis s. : *justice* 4478.
paeni [OFr *paenie*] : *parti* 19991.
paradise : *asis* 9428.
: *devise* 9442.
: *folijs* s. pl. 1279.
: *franchise* C *franches* 1638.
: *pris* s. 2104, 11697, 18423.
: *seruis* 8145, 20843.
: *Synais* 9506.
parchemin : *pepin* 8504.
parti s. : *feluni* 22861.
: *Romani* 22246.
propheci : *cri* 8903.
: *Daui* 8521.
: *Ieremi* 9195, 9333, 11648.
: *Ysai* 9266, 10716.
: *Marie* 11040.
: *signefi* inf. 22988.
E *quaintise* C *quantis* G *aquaintis* s. [OFr *cointise, queint-*] : *pris* s. 19568.
quite adj. [OFr *quite*] : *despite* 2037, 4620, 21914.
: *parfit* 12484.
sacrifijs : *seruijs* 10606.

Sarazine : *Apoline* 22286.
E *sengnurie* C *senurre* s. [OFr *seignorie*] : *Normundi* 24773.
spite s. [abbreviated form of *despit* < OFr *despit*] : *wijt* s., *nite* [OSc *níta*], *lite* s. [from OSc *hlíta*], *site* s., *quite* adj. [OFr *quite*] 15568.
stori s. [OFr *estorie*] : *Bethani* 13969.
trecheri(e) : *Daui* 18881.
: *feloni* 4391.
: *partie* 730.
vie s. : *clergi* 21740.
: *propheci* 3473.
vices s. pl. : *delices* 23286.
ʒiʒanny [OFr *zizanie*] : *fellunny* 1138. Note the letter ʒ instead of *z*, as is often the case in Northern manuscripts.

§ 325. OE *ĭʒ*, *ŭʒ*, OSc *-ig* : OE *ī*, *ȳ*, OSc *í*, *ý*, OFr, Lat. *ī*.
bij inf., pr. [from OE *biʒes* pr.] : *Daui* 7816.
: *envi* s. 9332.
: *felunni* s. 18885.
: *foli* s. 2035.
: *Mari* 8497.
: *prophesi* 152.
: *for-þi* 9619, 10921, 18591, 24511.
dreri adj. OE *drēoriʒ*] : *for-þi* 11622.
dri adj. [OE *drȳʒe*] : *merci* 20748.
: *multipli* 12026.
: *parti* 8280.
: *for-qui* 1324.
dri inf. [OE *drȳʒian*] : *for-þi* 309.
CG *eri* adj. [for its doubtful origin see NED s. v. *eerie*] : *Mari* 12434.
FGT *ferli* s., adj. [OE *-līc* + OSc *-lig*] C *selli* : *bi* prep. 6319, 20494.
ferli : *cri* 12129.
: *Daui* 7586.
: *iugelri* 19522.
: *kij* s. pl. [OE *cȳ*] 4567.

hi(j) s. [from the verb OE *hīȝian*]: *Bethani* 14077.
: *Caluari* 21520.
: *cri* 4400, 6139, 8630, 24017.
inf.: *cri* 6228.
: *Daui* 7520.
: *enemy* 14827, 20719.
: *felunny* 12022.
: *Heli* 22362.
: *Marie* 10526, 12282, 12695, 14279.
: *Mesipotani* 3229.
: *merci* 1275.
F *hij* C *heij* inf.: *qui* 19772.
: *ski* s. 8066.
: *Vri* 7894.
his pr. [OE *hīȝias*]: *wis* s. 21277.
lauedi s. [OE *hlǣfdīȝe*]: *bi* prep. 20192, 20440.
: *wilani* s. 4406.
leuedi s.: *belami* 20176.
: *bi* prep. 20290, 20413, 20448, 20477, 20490, 20802: *þar-bi* 5631.
: *Elsi* 24935.
: *ywori* 9360.
: *lecheri* 10046.
: *propheci* 11357.
: G *triphilrie* C *ribodi* 10131.
: *Vri* 7888.
: *vie* 20040.
: *Zachari* 10153.
li inf. [from OE *liȝes* pr.]: *Bethani* 21211.
: *bi* prep. 3778.
: *bi* s. = town 8538.
: *cri* 22466.
: *feluni* 22279.
: *lecheri* 23118, 23284.
: F *Mawmetri* C *Maumentri* 11776.
: *parlesi* 19048.
: *wictori* 21396.

lin p. p. [analogical form from *li* inf., modelled on *see* — *seen*, : *gā* — *gān* etc.] : G *gesin* C *gisin* [OFr *gesine*] 11298.

lijs pr. [OE *liȝes*] : *crijs* pr. 1129.
: *paradis* 2470.
: *rijs* 3 pers. sing. pr. [of OE *rīsan*] 11073. The syncopated form is noteworthy; another example — *wise* pr. [of OE *wīsian*] — is recorded in § 323.
: *wis* adj. 8978.

bleth(e)li : *Sinai* 6459.
: *trecheri* 3870.

certainli : *Daui* 14789.

communli : *qui* adv. 760.
: *Mari* 12066.

curtaisly : *herbergeri* 11536.

uncuthli : *spi* inf. [OFr *espier*].

derworthli : *bi* prep. 5321.

diuersli : *stori* s. 21808.

inwardli : *Mari* 20754.

iþenli : *ski* s. 2871.

mightili : *parti* 1613.

FGT *misdedi* adj. [< *misded* s. + the adjectival suffix *ī* < *iȝ*, see NED s. v. *missdeedy*] C *misdede* : *for-þi* 18280.

priuely : *bi* prep. 8672.
: *Daui* 7711.
: *maistri* 12319.
: *Marie* 11959.
: *Sinai* 6361.
: *mangeri, parti, bi* s. 15200.

redili : *stori* 6298.

reufulli : *merci* 1826.

richeli : *Sophie* 21603.

unrightwisli : *crucifi* 18273.

riueli : *bi* prep. 8604.

sarili : *cri* 14253.

scilwisli : *þar-bi* 4748.
: *envi* 12082.
sikerli : *Arimathi* 17599.
G *sodaynli* C *sodanli* : *cri* 11610.
sothfastliv : *for-þi* 9745.
tenderli : *bi* prep. 5058.
truli : *merci* 4880.
witerli : *Arimathi* 17799.
: *Bethani* 14229.
: *bi* prep. 2944.
: *maistri* 6420.
: *Mari* 12736.
: *Metodi* 2003.
: *forqui* 14356.
: *vilani, cri, pretori* 16306.
al-mighti : C *maumentri* 21993.
nine num. [OE *niȝone*] : *fine* s. [OFr *fin*] 11178.
: *mine* pron. 969.
C *nene* : *pine* 23265.
redi adj. : *parti* 7470.
sari adj. [OE *sāriȝ*] : *Marie* 14016, 14275.
: *merci* 20350.
: *qui* 20381.
FG *selli* [OE *sel(d)hc*] C *felli* : *cri* s. 12536.
sti s. [OE *stīȝ*] : *bi* prep. 4575.
: *Ethiopi* 8132.
sti s. [OSc *stigi*] : *ski* s. 3779.
thirti [OE *þrītiȝ*] : *stori* 1216.
thri adv. [OE *þrīȝa, þrīa*] : *Frigi* 21083.
: *Mari* 20629.
thris adv. [OE *þrīȝa* + *s*] : *wis* s. 19877.
: *wise* inf. 24103.
tile s. [OE *tiȝule*] : *gile* [AN *gile*] 18930.
CE *tuenti* FGT *fourti* : ET *Puntenei* CGF *Pontani* = Pontenay 20057.
weri [OE *wēris*] : *bi* prep. 11660.
worthy adj. : *feloni* 11977.

§ 326. OE *ĭȝ*, *ȳȝ*, OSc *ig* rimed inter se.
dri adj. [OE *drȳȝe*] : *þar-bi, for-þi, ferli, selcuthli, Mari, priueli, stori, felunni, Arimathi* 16868.
bi(j) inf. : *hi* s. 11551, 19573.
: *lij* inf. 4419, 5472, 8598, 13068, 13479.
hi s. : *lauedi* 2606.
: *lij* inf. 17818, 22906.
: *communli* 9659.
: *witerli* 10351.
lauedi : *sari* adj. 20290.
leuedi : *lij* inf. 10117.
: *fulli* 20628.
li(j) inf. : *iþenli* 12683.
: *richeli* 8845.
bodili : *gastli* 427.
sodainli : *ferli* 11210.
redi adj. : *hij* s. 17982.
: *leuedi, priueli, hij* s. 16118.
selli : *witerli* 14588.
thris adv. : *tuise* adv. [OE *twīȝes*] 20973.
GT *thritti* num. C *thritté* : *witterli* 2165.

§ 327. The pron. *I* : *ami* 20193.
: *bi* prep. 8618 : *her-bi* 9514.
: *bi* inf. 5278.
: *caluari* 24035.
: *cri* 1403.
: *Daui* 1738, 18994.
: G *eri* [see NED s. v. *eerie*] C *sori* 17686.
: *felunni* 2221.
: *hi* s. 8020, 19903.
: *leuedi* 11115.
: *Leui* 5585.
: *li* inf. 5340 : *underli* 12226.
: *priueli* 2595.
: *witerli* 9568, 14633.
: *merci* 5072, 9049, 9744.
: *propheci* 6864, 6874, 14513.

: *qui* 7739, 24202, 24252.
: *for-þi* 12165.
: *Aramathi, envie, lie, for-þi, cri* 17271.
: *hi, certainli, foli* 16236.

§ 328. *Drightin* (= Orrm's *Drihhtīn*): *Constantin* 21213.
: *disciplin* 23289.
: *fine* adj. 6563, 10004.
: *fine* inf. 22268.
: *min* pron. 18702, 21466, 22966.
: *nine* num. 2643, 20832.
: *parchemin* 17841.
: *Sarazin* 6984.
: *time* s. (ass.) 13619.
: *tin* inf. [OSc *týna*] 13510.
: *þin* pron. 3946, 5218, 5775, 5821, 6733, 11340.
: *win* s. [OE *wīn*] 13418 : FG *win* s. C *vin* 180.
: *win* s. *pin, min* pron. 15240.

No rime with short *i* occurs; for such rimes as *Drightin* : *birthin* and : *wiþerwin* see the next paragraph.

§ 329. *i*, in unstressed words and syllables, riming with *ī*.
birthin s. [OE *byrþen*] : *Drightin* 13812.
him pron. : *Constantinopolim* 21216.
: *Corozaim* 22101.
: *Dotaim* 4104.
: *Elialhim* 9238.
: GT *Ephesim* CF *Hephesim* 21069.
: *Ieronim* 20789.
: *Ioachim* 9251, 10144, 10173, 10227, 10307, 12750.
: *Mephaim* 2192.
: *Neptalim* 3902.
: *Raphidim* 6406.
: *rim* s. [OE *rīm*] 9240.
: *suim* s. [OE *swīma*] 19085, 19838.

: *time* s. 1360, 1755, 7014, 13773, 17434, 19717, 20638, 22284, 24344.
his pron. : *enemis* s. pl. 2080.
: *paradis* 18746.
: *pris* s. 6732.
in prep. : *þin* pron., *pine* s., *mine* pron. 15688.
F *is* pr. CG *es* : *paradis* 11716.
mankin s. : *pin* s. 20525.
C *noncine* put for *noucine* s. [OSc *nauþsyn*] : *mine* pron. 5371.
C *nocin* s. : *wastine* s. [OFr *vastine*] 5802.
þis pron. : *paradis* 20491.
wiþ C *wit* : *kyth* inf. [OE *cȳþan*] 12164.
forwith : *kythe* inf. 11009.
wiþerwin s. [OE *wiþerwinna*] : *Constantin* 21404.
: *Drightin* 5365, 6289, 9452, 11439, 18398.
: *fin* inf. 7204.
: *mine* pron. 21834.
: *pine* s. C 9576, 9800, 9871, 10072, 20810, 21349, 23032, 23187.
: *tin* inf. [OSc *tȳna*] 5518.
: *þine* pron. 18014.
: *venim* s. 14870.
wiþerwins pl. : *fins* pr. 9973.
wiþerwines pl. : *pines* s. pl. 23319.

The great number of proper names riming with *him* may also contain short *i* and belong to § 70.

§ 330. MLG *ī* : OE *ī*.
smile inf. [MLG *smīlen*] : *quile* s. [OE *hwīl*] 12254, FGT *smile* C *smylle* : *quile* 2730.

§ 331. The sb. *hindwin* [of obscure origin] = 'hindpart' : *Drihtin* 22395.

§ 332. The sb. *stime* = glimpse, particle : *time* s. 19652, 22514.
For the origin of the sb. *stime* see Etym. Sect.

i + *ld.*

§ 333. OE *í* riming with itself.

child : *mild* adj. 156, 1203, 1354, 11010, 11204, 11326, 11533, 11602, 12456, 13487, 20657, 24078, 24181, 24557, 24866.

: *unmild* 1096.

: *wild* adj. 9308, 11954.

wild : *mild* 689, 1695, 3281, 11627, 21152, 24748.

§ 334. OE *í* : ONorth. *í*.

child : *schild* inf. [ONorth. *scílda*] 1395, 10807.

: *witschild* 5012, 8720.

§ 335. *ĭ* : *ĭ*.

wild pt. [a new formation from the OE infinitive *willan*] : *fulfild* p. p. 18760, 21774.

§ 336. OE *í* : *ĭ*.

(*knaue*)*child* : G *wild* pt. C *wijld* 11294. The spelling *wijld* is probably incorrect, *ij* is often miswritten for *ĭ* in MS. C, e. g. *wit*s. is always written »*wijt*».

When *child* was part of a compound word, the *ī* may have been shortened, but, on the other hand, the association with the simple word ought to have preserved the long *ī*. The short *ĭ* of the plural *childer* may also have influenced the long *ī* of the singular. This rime may perhaps be correct, but nothing can be inferred from it, as it occurs only once. It should be noted that it was difficult to get a word riming with *wĭlde* pt.

§ 337. Such a rime as C *unweild* adj. = 'weak' : *child* s. 10539, may perhaps be taken as a rime *ĭ* (*e*) : *ĭ*. KALUZA has emended it to *unwild* : *child*, and the rime *wild* adj. : *feild* s. 6079, is perhaps an *ī* : *ĭ*(*e*)-rime with OE *é* shortened and becom-

ing in Northern dialects some sort of *ĭ*-sound (see northern examples of *fild* in NED and LUICK Stud. p. 194), although *filde* s. might possibly represent OE *ȝefilde*; for these two rimes see LUICK, Unters. p. 232.

i + *nd*.

§ 338. OE *í* riming with itself.
bind inf. : *blind* adj. 9217.
: *find* inf. 8786.
bindes pr. pl. : *findes* pr. pl. 355.
behind prep. adv. : *find* inf. 2852, 6072, 8789.
: *wind* s. 1846.
find inf. : *blind* adj. 183, 2801, 3463, 9339, 10137, 13524, 13563, 13591, 14691, 17452, 17576, 19662, 21510, 21641, 23841.
pr. plur. : *blind* adj. 1514, 22788.
: C *wynd* s. 400.
pr. subj. : *blind* adj. 12257.
underfind inf. : *blind* adj. 3663.
lind s. : *find* inf. 3065.
wind s. : *find* inf. 13121, 23667.
blind inf. : *find* inf. 21357.

§ 339. OE *í* : OE *ý*.
bind inf. : *kind* s. 17115.
find inf. : *kind* s. 3197, 8257, 9833, 11094, 14864, 22790, 24254, C *fynd* inf. : *kynd* F *finde* : *kynde* 35.
pr. plur. : *kind* s. 361, 9429, 9777.
blind adj. : *kind* s. 8988.

§ 340. OE *í* : *ĭ*.
find pr. sing. : *brind* p. p. [a new formation from the infinitive *brinna* < OSc *brinna*] 9205.

§ 341. OE *í* : OFr *i*.
find inf. : GT *ynde* C *Ind* s. [OFr *inde* = indigo] 9919, 9991.
: *Ind* [OFr *Inde* = India] 21107.

§ 342. The rime *find* pr. pl. : *nind* [see NED Note under *tenth*, probably + OSc *níonde*] 23258.

§ 343. OE *í* : *ȳ*.
find pr. pl. : *strind* s. [OE *strȳnd*] 2143.

§ 344. OE *ý* in self-rimes.
kind s. : *unmind* adj. 1571.
: *mind* [OE *ʒemýnde*] adj. 21896 not subst. as EILERS gives.
C *kynd* s. : *mind* s. 6161.

§ 345. OE *ý* : OE *ȳ*.
kind s. : *strind* s. 10161.

From the spellings *i* and *y* nothing can be inferred. The only word with short *ĭ* or *ī* seems to be *find*, to judge from the rime in § 340. Orrm. has, indeed, such a spelling as *finndesst*, but only once, l. 16354, and it is considered a scribal error.

-ing.

§ 346. OE *í* + *ng* riming with itself.
bring inf., pr. : *spring* inf. 9129, 10721.
: *thing* s. 6812, 10831, 20160.
cling inf. : *thing* s. 8763.
ring inf. : *sing* pr. 20700. This rime is not found in EILERS.
singes pr. : *springes* pr. 1031. The rime is omitted by EILERS.
spring s. : *thing* s. 1313.
: *wring* pr. 11699.

ospring s. [OE *ofspring*] C *oxspring* : *bring* inf. 1199, 13599.
: *thing* s. 1226, 9301.
sting inf. : *thring* inf. 899.
thring : *spring* inf. 10076.
ying adj. [ONorth. *ʒíng*] : FGT *ospring* s. C *oxspring* 10617, 18529.
: *thing* 3590.

§ 347. OE *ý* + *ng* : OE *í* + *ng*.
king s. [OE *cýng* < *cyning;* see LUICK Hist. Gr. p. 245] : *bring* inf., pr. 383, 2417, 4303, 4537, 5279, 5764, 7429, 7637, 11573, 11876, 17919, 18448, 22961, 24812.
: *ring* s. 4653.
: *sing* inf. 7426, 18315.
: F *ospring* C *ox-spring* 9283, 10191, 18102.
: *spring* inf. 22878.
: *thing* s. 3003, 4888, 5208, 7286, 7352, 7489, 7862, 8970, 9080, 12899, 13062, 13154, 14648, C 18147, 20437, 20606, 21553, 22666 : *na-thing* 9563 : *sum-thing* 9530.
: *thring* s. [OE *ʒeþríng*] 11822.
: *wring* inf. 8690, 23960.
: *ying* adj. 7494, 8384, 8444, 8650.
kynges pl. : *thinges* pl. 21.
ouer-king : *sum-thing* 11192.

§ 348. OE *í* + *ng* : *i* (< earlier *e* of OSc origin) + *ng*.
bring pr. : *hing* inf. [OSc *hengja*] 4992.
FGT *ospring* C *oxspring* : *hing* inf. 18529.
sting inf. : *hing* 18022.
thing s. : *hing* pr. subj. 4876 : inf. 4946.
thinges pl. : E *withinges* pr. C *wit hinges* 22754.

§ 349. OE *í* + *ng* riming with the substantival ending *-ing*.
bring inf., pr. : *blissing* 3723.
: *chosling* 18371, 22156.
: *to-cumming* 13677.
: *duelling* 5116.

: *ending* 5436, 21261.
: *greting* 5158.
: *louing* 14931.
: *morning* 7182.
: *sarmoning* 19911.
: *sueuening* 4514.
: *visiting* 6190.
ring s. : *busking* 3246.
: *clething* 5125.
sing inf. : *resting* C *lething* 7438.
spring inf. : *roting* 9270.
: *witering* 10727.
ospring : *forbidding* 20527.
C *oxspring* : *ȝerning* 7310.
suing pr. subj. : *biding* 5875.
thing : *asking* 3301.
: *biginning* 9378, 10141, 12240.
: *blissing* 3937, 20710.
: *clething* 19766.
: *couering* 24689.
: *cuming* 22530.
: *ending* 4380, 9759.
: *flitting* 5228.
: *gedring* 10703, 13505.
: *hething* 2078, 9335.
: *lauerding* 403, 2970, 8265.
: *letting* 4913.
: *misliking* 10465.
: *louing* 20027.
: *meting* 3956.
: *okering* 6795.
: *preching* 20387.
: *saghteling* 963.
: *springing* 9928.
: *sterling* 1790.
: *takning* 6075.
: *talking* 14761.
: G *mistrouing* C *mistring* 4842.

: *waiting* 3344.
: *wanting* 11676.
nathing : *mistruing* 11149.
: *yerning* 11895.
FGT *thinges* C *thing* : FGT *lauerdinges* G *lauerding* 6370.
ying : *fostring* 3224.
: *kerling* 11056.
: *up-rising* 22817.
: *talking* 12137.

§ 350. *i* (< earlier *e* of OSc origin) + *ng* : OE *ý* + *ng*.
dring s. [OSc *drengr*] : *king* 22354.
CF *ging* s. G *geng* [OSc *gengi*] : *king* s. 6125. With regard to *geng* s. see further § 226.
hing inf. : *king* s. 7781, 8905, 11891.

§ 351. *i* (< earlier *e* of OSc origin) riming with itself and with the substantival ending *-ing*.
dring s. : *hething, thing, bring, techeing* 15414.
: *hing, gadiring, bring, king* 16022.
: *secuing* 22052.
hing inf. : *king, thing, gadring* 16420.

§ 352. OE *ý* + *ng* riming with the substantival ending *-ing*.
king s. : *asking* 14428.
: *baptising* 171.
: *biding* 5553.
: *biginning* 18524.
: *blissing* 5333, 5368, 20219.
: *coruning* 7333.
: *cumling* 6838.
: *cumming* 12913.
: *ending* 669, 7787, 10865, 20012, : C *na nending* GT *euening* 11429.
: *euening* 6386.
: *forbisening* 7916.
: *gouerning* 7402.
: *gadering* 22343.

: *hailsing* 5317, 7865.
: *haluing* 10216.
: *hething* 11539.
: *knauing* 5495.
: *langing* 4512.
: *tesing* 8097.
: *martiring* 9104.
: *mensking* 5304.
: *mining* 4479.
: *prisuning* 21260.
: *spelling* 22316
: *tak(e)ning* 3813, 5828, 11496.
: *talking* 2973, 9596.
: *techeing* 2655.
: *tiþing* 7814.
: *traveling* 4694.
: *mistruing* 2283, 7515.
: *warning* 4587.
: *wondring* 11454.
: *yerning* 8297.

kinges pl. : *lauerdinges* 4908, 22127.

§ 353. The substantival ending *-ing* in self-rimes.

bering : *kything* 11080.
bidding : *commanding* 5104.
: *praiing* 18244.
biginning : *ending* 2314.
blessing : *couering* 2058.
circumcising : *forbisening* 2682.
ending : *mariing* 10657.
falling : *up-rising* 17733.
gadering : *clething* 4544.
gedring : *up-rising* 18686.
G *knauing* C *knaing* : G *gestning* C *gesting* 11749.
langing : *up-rising* 24629.
lauerding : *tiþing* 11769.
lesing : *tiþing* 5204.
ligging : *leching* 6686.

liking : *sanking* 23450.
up-rising : *coniuring* 17807.
: *kneling* 18459.
: *witnesing* 18475.
sermoning : *hething* 1830.
tak(e)ning : *cuming* 21960.
: *up-rising* 21327.
mistruing : *baptising* 12770.
warning : *cumming* 21879.

§ 354. The sb. *sling* [NED assumes continental origin, but a direct connection with Scandinavian forms such as ODan *slinge* s., Norw. Dial. *slyngja* is not impossible] : *chesing* s. 14430.
: *suing* inf. 7527, 17582.

§ 355. *i* + *ng* : *e* + *ng*.
breng inf. only recorded in MS. C : *leng* inf. [OE *lengan*] only in C 21587; *breng* is otherwise always found in the form *bring* in C. M.; see §§ 346—349.
king : *ming* inf. [OE *méngan*] 7455, *ming* inf. is mostly found in the form *meng* in C. M.; see § 227.
F *thing* s. C *dughtithing* : *leng* inf. 8181.

The rimes in this last § prove that the shortening of OE *í* had already taken place in this dialect.

-ird.

§ 356. OE *i* + *rd* : OE *ý* + *rd*.
bird s. [ONorth *bird* otherwise *brid*] : *wird* s. [OE *wýrd*] 9968, G *bird* C *brid* : C *wird* s. G *weird* 20282.

§ 357. *i* + *rd* : *e* + *rd*.
bird s. : G *werld* C *wird* = werld 10077. This rime has been misinterpreted by EILERS, who gives OE *wýrd* as the source of *wird*.

The last rime shows a short *i* in *bird* s. By the side of *bird* there occurs a form *brid*, as indicated by a few rimes; see §§ 64, 72.

-ist.

§ 358. *C(h)rist* [OE *Crīst*] : *Anticrist* 21979, 22226.
: *baptist* s., p. p. 3429, 11113, 12866, 17967, 18724, 21117.
: *biwist* s. [OE *biwist*] 23556.
: *evangelist* 12704, 13224, 13433, 13689, 13977, 21331.
: *list* inf. [OE *hlystan*] 19707.
: *stablist* p. p. 21288.
: *traist* p. p. [of OFr *trahiss-*] 20042.
: *warnist* p. p. [of OFr *warniss-*] 19897, 21885.
: *wist* pt. [OE *wiste*] 8924, 11463, 13612, 14028, 14529, 17290, 18938, 19839.
Cristes : *evangelistes* 21263.
Anticrist : *warnist* p. p. 22364.

Many of the above rimes prove that we have a short *i* in *Christ*. *Christ* is also found with short *i* in other ME texts; see MORSB. § 62 Note.

§ 359. OFr *īs* + the preterite ending *t*.
baptist pt. : *wiste* pt. 19554.

The long *i* in the infinitive *baptīs* seems to have been shortened in the preterite, where the combination *s* + *t* ought to have had a shortening influence.

ō.

§ 360. OE *ō* riming with itself.
blod s. : *flod* s. 5835.
: *fod* s. 1055, 1135, 1953.
god adj. 2958, 4130, 10000, 19504, 20520 : C *godd* adj. 11806, 17335.
: *mode* s. 14873.
: *rode* s. 197, 17136, 21006, 21678, 22352, 22498, 23973, 24146.

: *stod* pt. 24083.
: *undirstod* pt. 4249.
: *wit-stod* pt. 24772.
: *wod* adj. 13189, 20968.
blom s. : *dom* s. 9328, 21699.
inf. : *dom* s. 10744.
bok s. : *lok* inf., pr. 14853, 18832, 22511.
: *um-biloke* inf. 8468, 23705.
: *up-lok* inf. 1819.
: *quok* pt. [analogical form from OE *cwacian,* modelled on *scōc* from the OE inf. *scacan*] 12836.
: *scok* pt. [OE *scōc*] 20499, 21228.
: *for-sok* pt. 3861.
: *tok* pt. [analogical form from OSc *taka,* which passed into class VI of the strong verbs] 627, 2041, 5595, 8436, 9516, 9864, 11381, 11507, 12668, 20854.
: *under-tok* pt. 9125.
bot s. : *fot* s. 1780, 4734, 6268, 12259, 14146, 14891, 20120, 20886, 24034, 24638, 24498 : C *fotte* 24346, C *but* : *fot* 5957, C *bote* : *fote* 14147 : *a fot* 24639.
FGT *brode* Ç *broide* s. : *gode* adj. 18288.
brod s. : *under-stod* pt. 6154.
broþer s. : *oþer* adj. 854, 1219, CF 1574, 2296, 2410, 2980, 4110, 14245, 14307, 21020, 21132, FT *broþer* CG *breþer* : *oþer* 13309, C *broiþer* : *oþer* 1974, 3735, 4948 : *toþer* [with *t-* from *þat*] 1629, 2334, 3494, 5160, 20860 : C *toþeir* 1629, C *broiþer* : C *toiþer* 2032.
: *another* 19926, C *broiþer* : *another* 23872.
: *nanother* 4147, 14149.
com pt. [OE *cōm*] : *dom* s. 9388.
: *nom* pt. [OE *nōm*] 20689.
: *wisdom* 1539, 8957.
bicom pt. : *dom* s. 9831.

do inf., pr. : *to* prep. 653, 1743, 2728, 2896, 5985, 9432, 11640, 12074, 12111, 12630, 13391, 19015, 19326, 19558, 20329, 23392.
: *hider-to* 21479.
: *þar-to* 1723, 2274, 3717, 4997, 5766, 13537, 14595, 19098, 19534, 19584, 22383 : *þer-to* 3760, 4560, 9796.
: *un-to* 11673, 18797.
for-do inf. : *to* 14886.
: *þar-to* 12773, 22083.
un-do inf. : *to* 10095, 10667, 18405.
: *þar-to* 5598.
don inf. : *son* adv. 18866.
don p. p. : *for-don* p. p. 1590, 2890.
: *mis-don* p. p. 21816.
: *son* adv. 1218, 2996, 3618, 3669, 3720, 4204, 4417, 4540, 5302, 5696, 6035, 6532, 6648, 7827, 7906.
for-don p. p. : *son* adv. 1589, 2813.
in-don p. p. : *son* adv. 11412.
un-don p. p. : *son* adv. 5003, C *undun* : *son* 21356.
dos pr. : *for-dos* pr. 22938.
flod s : *brod* s. 1508.
: *god* adj. 1236, 2082, 3983, 13323.
: *stod* pt. 24834, C *fludd* : C *stud* pt. 1854.
: *under-stod* 6266.
fod s. : *flode* s. 12222.
: *god* adj. 1912, 3068, 3499, 6380, 6395, 7701, 10340, 10521, 14877.
: *stode* pt. 11729, 13161.
god s., adj. : *fod* s. 13276, 13353, 13517, 14877, 23084.
: *mod* s. 3060, 6537, 7631, 8425, 9970, 10853, 14384, 14397.
: *rode* s. 9039, 18332, 18409, 18436, 20066, 20096, 21627, 21806.
: *stod* pt. 8832, 9599, 10312, 12004, 12378, 19487.
: *understod* pt. 8555, 11458, 19563, 23839, 24792.
: *wit-stode* pt. 24370.

: *yode* pt. [OE *ʒ(e)eōde*] 12293, 13455, 19053.
lo interj. [shortened form of OE *lōca* imp.] : *do* 19363, 19638.
: *undo* 17911.
: *do, quar-to, undo* 14976.
mod s. : *god* adj. 13282.
: *rode* s. 217, 21668.
: *stode* pt. 8160.
: *understode* 2259, 8804.
: *wit-stod* pt. 19709.
: *wode* adj. 7419.
mon s. : *don* inf. 13476 : *don* p. p. 388, 21903.
mot inf. [OE *motian*] : *bote* C *bute* s. 23847, 23947.
: *fot* s. 3485.
mot s. : *fot* 11949.
nanother : *toþer* 7074, 8702.
non s. [OE *nōn*] : *don* p. p. 19810 : *done, alson, mon* 16764.
quok pt. [formed on the analogy of OE *scacan, scōc*] : *scok* pt. [OE *scōc*] 7259.
C *quon* FG *fon* [OE *hwōn* = few] : *don* inf. 20513, *quon* : *don* inf. EC 24305, 24067.
: *for·don* p. p. 10047, 24686, G *fon* C *fun* : *for-done* 18246.
G *quone* E *chone* CF *fone* : *utdone* p. p. 19782.

The form *fon,* which never occurs in E (acc. to LUICK Stud. p. 7, the oldest MS), has probably been inserted by the scribes.

rod s. [OE *rōd*] : *stod* pt. 11372, 14849, 24067, 24360, 24447.
: *understod* 17379, 17408 : *mis-understod* pt. 19152.
: *wit-stode* pt. 24110.
: *wode* adj. 24151.
: *yode* pt. 17125.
: *blod, understod* pt., *mod* 15244.
Rome [OE *Rōme* or OFr *Rome,* which was borrowed early] : *com* pt. 9175.
: *dom* s. 20915, 21415, 21470.
sco pron. [OE *seō* = she] : *do* 3238, 10869, 12606.
: *undo* 7129.
: *to* prep. 3625, 10074, 11296, 20087, 20141, 20485.

sco s. [OE *scō(h)*] : *to* prep. 12822.
C *schott* inf. [OE *sceōtan*] : *fott* s. 21043.
son adv. : *don* p. p. 1089, 10590, 13232, 14542, 19128, 20634, 22900, 24588 : C *dun* p. p. 24827, C *sun* : C *dun* p. p. 7108, 14672 : *don* p. p. 3244, 21584.
: *un-dun* p. p. 21355.
: *mon* s. 2217, 4063.
C *sun* : *non* s. 988.
al-son : *don* p. p. 6351, 8675, 12043, 12304, 12945, 13521, 23526, CG *alson* : *don* p. p. 618, *als son* : *don* p. p. 340.
: *misdon* p. p. 859.
: *undon* p. p. 11719, C *alsun* : *undon* 17414.
stod pt. : *understod* pt. 19173.
tok pt. : *loke* inf. 3289, 7046.
: *scok* pt. 19211.
: *for-sok* pt. 6523, 7145, 14112, 17529, 23046, 23267.
toth s. [OE *tōþ*] : *soth* s. [OE *sōþ*] 6702, 13941, 19434, 23798.
wod adj. [OE *wōd*] : *blod* s. 13189.
: *flod* s. 24859.
: *god* adj. 14667, C *wodde* : *gode* 7293.
: *stode* pt. 13923, 14282.
: *understode* 14875.
: *blod, understod, mode* s., *gode* adj. 16228.
wod pt. [OE *wōd*] : *yode* pt. 3774.
wok pt. [OE *wōc*] : *lok* inf. 8615.
: *under-toke* pt. 2050.
ȝode (*yode*) pt. : *blod* s. 6124, 4707, 17136.
: *fode* s. 681, 11425.
: *flode* s. 1044, C *yodd* : *flodd* 1805, 5624.
: *god* adj. 12293, 13455, 13695 : *gode, blode, mode* s. 16132.
: *mod* 14721.
: *stod* 2615, 6264, 6628, 12862 : *stod, gode, fode* s. 15156.
: *understod* 12341, 14314, 19919.

ouer-yode pt. : *flod* s. 2227.
: *wit-stod* pt. 10523.
wrote inf. [OE *wrōtian*] : *bot* s. 23281.

§ 361. OSc *ó* : OE *ō*.
bon s. [OSc *bón*] : *non* s. 19045 : CE *quone* [OE *hwōn*] 23922.
: *son* adv. 3689, 10500, 13157, 14335, 20838.
crok s. [OSc *krókr*] : *bok* s. 699.
: *lok* inf. 23252.
come s. [OSc *kóma* or perhaps developed from OE **cume,* a new-formation from *cuman* inf.] : *dome* s. 21849, 22217.
fro s. [OSc *fró*] : *do* inf. 23567.
hone inf. occurring only in MS. G [OSc *hóa* = 'shout' + the infinitive ending *-n;* cfr. *ro* and *rone* inf. (see below) *mistru* and *mistrun* inf. (see § 396)] = shout, call : *quone, bon, sone, mone, done* 16818.
houe s. [OSc *hóf*] : *droue* inf. [from the adj. *drōf*] 11973.
: *behoue* s. 23291.
ro s. [OSc *rô*] : *do* EF 7418, 23651, 24163 : *undo* 23380,
: *sco* pron. 24016.
: *to* prep. 17888.
un-ro s. : *to* 23099.
rone inf. [the ending *-n* of the inf. taken as part of the stem; cfr. *ron* s. 24163] = recreate : *don* inf. 3352. The Glossary wrongly has *rone* = 'meditate' from OE *rūnan.* If so there would be no rime.
ros s. [OSc *hrós*] : *dos* pr. 7747, 13894 : *fordos* 11948.
ros inf. [OSc *hrósa*] : *dos* pr. 22290.
rot s. [OSc *rót*] : *bote* s. 45, 1376, 2318, 8108, 8221, 9258, 21733, 24389 : FGT *bote* C *a-bout* 8458.
: *fot* s. 11687.
: *mot* inf. 14893.
sloth s. [OSc *slóþ*] : *soth* s. 4791, 18786 : FG *forsoth* 1253 C *slogh* : *forsoth* 22550.
tom s. [OSc *tóm*] : *kingdom* 2128.
: *martirdom* 24467.
tom adj. [OSc *tómr*] : *halidom* 17798.
: *dom* s. 4581, 4976.

stor adj. [OSc *stórr*] : *tor* adj. [OE *tōr*] = hard 24544. The Glossary wrongly gives *store* = 'store', which would contain ǭ, as the ground-word is OFr. *store;* see § 371.

§ 362. OFr (Lat.) ō : OE ō, OSc ó.
Aaron : *don* p. p. 6428.
: *son* adv. 6413.
Babilon : *don* p. p. 9208.
fole [OFr *fol*] : *scole* [OE *scōl*] 12459, C *fule* : *scole* 12090.
Iedeon : *don* p. p. 7022.
Ierome : *Rome* 22595.
Pharao : *lo* interj. 4659.
Pharaon : *don* p. p. 4870, 6215, 6435, 14402.
: *for-don* p. p. 5566, 11790.
proue inf. [OFr *prover*] : *behoue* 3656, 4383, 7099, 7335, 11869, 20006, 23810.
: *glove* s. 8115.
Salomon : *don* inf. 9076 : *don* p. p. 8310, 8565, 8851, 9116.
: *wisdom* 8858.
Symeon : *bon* s. 11316.
Sodom : *com* pt. 2766.
: *dom* s. 2907.
virago : *sco* pron. 635.
tron [OFr *trone*] s. : *don* p. p. 8290, 20836.
: *son* adv. 24263.

§ 363. OFr (Lat.) ō : OFr (Lat.) ō.
Aaron : *Pharaon* 5838, 5888, 5935, 6131, 6304.
dole s. [OFr *doel*] = sorrow : *fole* 13040.
Ebron : *Edom* 4036.
Labdon : *Sampson* 7084.
Naason : *Salmon* 7856.
pour adj. [OFr *pover*] : *couer* [OFr *covrir*] 1797.
tron s. : *Salomon* 8540, 8659, 22122.

§ 364. OE *u* lengthened in open syllables : ṵ.
come inf., pr. [OE *cuman*] : *dom* s. 23055.
: *wisdom* 1540.

: *Rome* 22270.
gome s. [OE *guma*] : *dom* s. 7937.
FT *loue* pr. C. *luue* : *behoue* s. 14882.
C *luuen* inf. : *abouen* prep. 20078.
lofe inf. : *behoue* s. 3640.
: *proue* inf. 9037.
loued pt. : *behoued* 1210.
ouen s. [OE **ufen*] : *abouen* prep, 2925.
sun s. [OE *sunu*] : *Ebron* 1416.
: *fordon* p. p. 1516.
: *Salamon* 7962.
: *Symeoṅ* 3895.
won inf. [OE *wunian*] : *Chebron* 2784.

The rimes show that OE *u*, when lengthened in open syllables, gives ọ̄ in this dialect.

Note. The rime *lufe* inf. : *cofe* [OE *cofa*] 11618 is incorrect as it represents a rime ọ̄ : ọ̄.

§ 365. *u* in unstressed syllables riming with ọ̄.
Eliud : *soth* 9242. (ass.)
LUICK explains this rime Unters. §§ 422, 423.

§ 366. *gloþer* [in later Scotch appearing as *gluther, gluder*] = gloze : *oþer* 8401.

§ 367. *hon* inf. pres. delay, tarry : *don* p. p. 5873, 23923.
: *alson* adv. 19868 : *son* adv. 20165.
(*wit-uten*) *hon* s. [from the verb] : *bone* s. 8413.
: *don* p. p. 10374, 17668, 19142, 21410, 23008, 23351 : *undon* 14316.
: *Pharaon* 5795.
: *Salamon* 8792.
: *don* p. p., *bon*, s. *son* 15816.
: *son, bon*, s. *trone, mon* s. 15604.

As to the etymology of the verb *hon* = 'delay' found only in the north, I should be inclined to derive it from the interjection *ho* = 'stop', from which a verb *ho* has been formed and is recorded in ME in the sense of 'cease, stop'. From this comes a sb. *ho* = 'cessation', occurring in such a phrase as *withouten*

ho. To *ho* inf. the infinitive ending *-n* has been added and taken as part of the stem, as was sometimes the case in the north; cfr. *ron* inf. and *ro, mistrun* inf. and *mistru.* It is true that resemblances in meaning and construction are found between *ho* and *hon,* but the vowel in *ho* is proved by rimes, e. g. in Chaucer, to be open, although a rime apparently containing close *ō* does occur (see NED s. v. *ho*), and the above rimes all prove a close *ọ̄*. One might perhaps imagine that *họ̄* < OFr *ho* was ousted in the north by *họ̄* < OSc *hó, hóa.*

Note. The rimes G *John,* C *Johan* : *bon* s. 10965
: *son* adv. 13098 are incorrect, because, according to MORSB. § 135 A_4 *Jon* is always rimed with *ọ̄* in Midland and Southern.

The same remark applies to the rime *couer* inf. [OFr *cọvr-*] : *ouer* prep. [OE *ofer*] 10119; cfr. LUICK, Unters. § 417.

The rime *goddote* (< *God wọ̄t*) : *fot* s. [OE *fọt*] 3730 is probably incorrect. The rimes *don* p. p. : *on* prep. 13856, 20214 are probably inaccurate, too.

ọ̄.

§ 368. OE *o,* lengthened in open syllables, riming with itself.
chosen p. p. : *losen* p. p. 18906, 21155.
: *forlosen* p. p. 713.
: *wit-losen* p. p. 10856, 14108.

col s. [OE *col* n., from the oblique cases, like other neuters]
: *thole* inf. [OE *þolian*] 22489.

cole inf. [OE **colian* < **colọ̄ạn,* by-form of *cyllen* < **culjan*] = kill : *thole* 2754, 3135, 11862.

§ 369. OSc *o* lengthened in open syllables : OE *o* lengthened in open syllables.

crot s. [acc. to BJÖRKMAN, Anglia Beiblatt 1917 p. p. 313, 314, from OSc **crota,* which exists in Norw. dialects = 'crumb'. Note Wyclif's spelling *croote,* and such a ME rime as *crot* : *throt* s. 9440] : C *forbot* s. GT *forbode* [OE *forbod* n. in oblique cases].

score [OSc *scora, scor*] : *before* [OE *beforan*] 6278.

§ 370. OFr *o* : OE, OSc *o* lengthened in open syllables.
Herod : CF *forbod* G *forbote* s. [OE *forbod* in oblique cases.] 13032.
jaiol [OFr *jaiole*] : *cole* inf. [OE **colian*] 13174.
Loth : *croth* s. 2378, 2527.
Nachore : *score* s. 2172.

§ 371. OFr *o* : OFr *o*.
flote s. [OFr *flote*] : *Lot* 2443. *flote* is recorded in Havelok 738 riming with *cǭte* [OE *cote* = hut].
los s. [OFr *los*] = praise : *Enos* 1452.
(*bi*) *rote* [OF *rote*] : *note* [OFr *note*] 7408.
stori [AN *estorie*] : *propitiatory* [AN *propiciatorie* s.] 8282.
Thamor : *Nichanor* 19390.

§ 372. The s. *bost* [of unknown origin] : (*h*)*ost* [OFr *host*] 6224. *bost* = 'boast' is always rimed with long, open *ǭ*; see examples in BOERNER, «Die Sprache Roberd Mannyngs» pp. 152 and 153

§ 373. In the case of the rime *host* [OFr *host*] : *cost* [OSc *kostr*] = 'quality, manner', 8180, we must take into conslderatson the unsettled quality of the vowel before *-st*.. see MORSB. § 61 and § 62 Note.

§ 374. The rimes *so* [OE *swā*] : *to* prep. 20360, 20435, *also* : *to* 20476, *fore* prep. [OE *fora*] : *more* [OE *māra*] 20655 are very remarkable in such a typically northern text as the Cursor Mundi and, like rimes of the same kind in other northern writers, are to be looked upon as introduced from the south into the literary language of the north. These are the only examples of southern *ǭ* in our poem, but, contrary to MORSB. § 136 Note 2, they prove that the poem is not entirely free of southern *ǭ*-rimes, as is stated there.

§ 375. The rime *trone* s. [OFr *trone*] : *Iohn* 13221 can be interpreted as a quite correct rime, as there were two pronunciations of *trone* [with ǭ and ọ̄], the latter representing an early loan. *Iohn* is always rimed with ǭ; see MORSB. § 145, Note 4,3.

§ 376. The rime *cover* [OFr *cọvr-*] : *ouer* prep. [OE *ofer*] 10119, thus a rime ọ̄ : ǭ, as LUICK considers, p. 232 Unters. The rime, however, is not quite incorrect, because the lengthened *ô* (in *ouer*) is an ō-sound intermediate between an open and a close ō and is sometimes found riming with close ō; see MORSB. § 119.

§ 377. ǭ : *o* in unstressed words.
Iohn : *apon* prep. 23201, C *Iohan* : *apon* 19493.
C *Ion* : *yon* adv. 17902, C *Ihon* : *yon* 14471.

For the lengthening of a vowel in unstressed words when the ictus of the metre falls upon it see § 107.

§ 378. Either short or long *o* is possible in
open adj. : *cropen* p. p. E *glopen* 22610.

-old.

§ 379. OE *ó* + *ld* in self-rimes.
hold adj. G *hoild* : *gold* s. 13264, FGT *hold* C *old* : *gold* 21317.
C *hald* : *gold* 23862.
E *be hold* adj. = loyal CG *behold* : *gold* s. 22177.

No conclusion can be drawn as to the vowel-quantity of these words.

-ord.

§ 380. OE *ó* + *rd* in self-rimes.
bord s. : *word* s. 14095.
hord s. : *word* s. 19213, 23859, 23893.

ord s. : *word* s. 24074.
: *loueword* s. 10625.
suord s. [ONorth. *swórd*] : *ord* s. 7769, 17738, E (*an*) *orde*, C (*a*) *uord* 24329.
: *word* s. 7948, 20990, 21124, GF *suord* C *suerd*
: *word* 3182.
word s. : *loueword* 13898, C *luueword* G *leue-word* 14331.

§ 381. OFr *o* + *rd* in self-rimes.
acorde inf. : *discord* s. 23639.
concord s. : *acord* s. 23520.
discord s. : *acord* s. 24594.
record s. : *a-cord* s. 9711.

§ 382. OE *ó* + *rd* : OFr *o* + *rt*.
word s. : C *comfortd* s. 7817. KALUZA in the Glossary and EILERS p. 39 wrongly render C *comfortd* as a p. p. It is a sb., and the phrase *o wers comfort* means 'of worse cheer'.

§ 383. OE *ó* + *rd* : OE *o* + *rþ*.
word s. : G *forth* adv. [OE *forþ*] C *fortd* 11083. EILERS has overlooked this rime.

As EILERS p. 39 remarks, it is noteworthy that the author seems to avoid riming OE and OFr words with each other. It is also to be taken into consideration that there was a dearth of rime-words ending in *-ort* and *-orth*, and consequently emergency rimes are to be expected. Yet the rimes in the last two paragraphs seem to imply a short *o*, at least in *word* s.

-orn.

§ 384. OE *ó* + *rn* riming with itself.
horns s. pl. : *thorns* s. pl. 3179.
morn s. [the shortened form *morne*(*s*) is already found in OE in oblique cases; see BÜLBR. § 285 Note 3]
: *horn* 7346.

§ 385. OE *ó* + *rn* riming with *o* + *rn* syncopated.

corn s. : *born* p. p. = 'born' and 'borne' 2148, 3503, 4855, 6808.
: *bi-forn* adv. [OE *beforan*] 5045.
horn s. : *bi-forn* adv. 6709, 6715.
morn s. : *born* p. p. 3740, 3875, 6892, 18646.
: *beforn* adv. 1414, 2859, 2917, 4495, 14922.
: *suorn* p. p., *forborn* p. p., *lorn* p. p. 15146.
thorn s. : *born* p. p. 9365.
: *be-torn* p. p. [OE *bi-toren* of *bi-teran*] 24045.

§ 386. *o* + *rn*, syncopated, riming with itself.

born p. p. = 'born' and 'borne' : *beforn* adv. 1186, 3010, 3481, 7626, 8523, 9131, 9309, 9818, 10070, 10604, 10907, 11034, 12124, 13531, 14401, 17121, 18738, 18837, 20662, 20692, 22024, 24376, 24754.
: *lorn* p. p. FGT 13655 C *forlorn*, 21721, 22079.
: *for-lorn* p. p. 1057, 8685, 8907, 9464, 17111, 20155, 24901.
: *scorn* p. p. 2670, 2698, 11284, 11714.
: *suorn* p. p. 18996.
for-born p. p. : *for-lorn* p. p. 1621.
: *for-suorn* p. p. 14560.
for-lorn p. p. : *beforn* adv. 20323.
scorn p. p. : *beforn* adv. 21567, 22936.

§ 387. OE *ó* + *rn* riming with the p. p. *be-storn*.

corn s. : C *be-storn* p. p. [< *be* + OE *storfen* p. p. of the verb *sterfan*] = been put to death (by starvation) 4736. FGT has the reading *for-lorn*, which the Notes prefer to that of C. Of C *be-storn* = *bestorvn* it is stated in the Notes that it is the only instance of this compound of *sterve* met with in ME. Yet just because of its rare occurrence in ME. and perhaps because of its absence in the dialects of the scribes, the word was very apt to be replaced

by another and more familiar one, as e. g. *forlorn*. Moreover, the fact that MSS. FG have different readings, F: »*or hungre haue ȝou alle for-lorne*», G: »*Ar ȝe for hunger be for-lorn*» seems to support my suggestion.

§ 388. The verb *biscorn* [of doubtful origin]: *born* p. p. 12232. I agree with the Notes in preferring G's reading, but without the emendation of *i* into *me*. In the G reading: »*Bot i, caitef, nu all bischorn*» we only need to correct the spelling *bischorn* into *bi-scorn*, which is the spelling in C. In the G text *nu all bischorn* represents a relative clause with the pronoun omitted, as was very often the case. The verb *biscorn* is recorded in ME in C. M. l. 16611 and Chaucer, Pers. T. 204.

Summary. The rimes with *beforn* adv. [OE *beforan*] in §§ 385, 386 prove a short *o* even in the words containing OE *ó* + *rn*, or else they would be incorrect rimes *ǭ* : *ǭ̣*, or *ŏ* : *ǭ̣*. The rime with *bestorn* p. p. in § 387, if correct, would also speak in favour of *ŏ*.

ū.

§ 389. OE *ū* in self-rimes.

about prep.: *loute* inf. [OE *lūtan*] 6546.
: *underloute* s. = subject 678, 2372, 3705.
: *out* adv. 1548, 1579, 2567, 2782, 4695, 7161, 7180, 7672, 7729, 9597, 11859, 12361, 14507, 17350, 21822, 22886, 23609.
: *wit(h)out* prep. 995, 5933, 10034.

brun adj.: *dun* adv. 18833.

cloud s.: *proud* adj. [OE *prūd*] 20893, G *clude* C *clode*: *prud* 18402.

cuth adj.: *selcuth* 10622, 12132.
: *uncuth* 6835.

selcuth adj. : *uncuth* 4579, 5337, 8697, 11091, 13640, 17365, 18348.
cuth pt. [OE *cūþe*] : *selcuth* 9842.
fus adj. [OE *fūs*] : *hus* s. 191, 2777, 14088, 18952.
loute inf. : *ute* adv. 13615.
: C *witoutte* 1305.
muth s. : *cuth* adj. 4136, 13143, 18699, 19697, 19942, 24377.
: *selcuth* 4761, 8077, 12143, 24402.
: *cuth* pt. 23945, 24801.
gilden-muth s. : *uncuth* adj. 11393.
muth inf. [from the sb.] : *cuth* pt. 18941, 21419.
: *south* s. 593.
nu adv. : *hu* adv. 938, 5265, 13607, 22624, 24761, C *now* : *hu* 9766.
: *þou* pron. 965, 2620, 8351, 12298, 12942, 14187, 14767, 18121, 18188, 18427, 19620, 24137, 24699, C *now* : *þou* 13408.
prude adj. : *scrude* s. 3249, 23643.
run s. [OE *rūn*] : *dun* adv. 22531.
run inf. [OE *rūnian*] : *tun* s. 14276, 19714.
scrude inf. [from the OE sb. *scrūd*] : *prude* adj. 8322.
south : *cuth* adj. 2117, C *soth* : *cuth* 22139.
: *uncuth* adj. 2391.
sprute inf. [OE *sprūtan*] : *abute* 11215.
tun s. : *dun* adv. 3251, 6115, 7186, 11443, 11795, 12277, 12311, 17597, 19607, 19719 : C *don* 2799, 12278.
þou pron. : *how* adv. 4070, 8104.

§ 390. OE *ūw* : OE *ū*.
tru inf., pr. [OE *trūwian*] : *hu* adv. 23711.
: *nu* adv. 371, 10372, 10976, 14321, 18578, 18698, 18821, 22785, 23396, CF *trow* : *now* 6547, CG *trow* : *now* 9384, CF *traw* : *now* 3727.
: *þou* 10967, 12188, 24676.

§ 391. OE *ū* + *ȝ*, *u* + *ȝ* : OE *ū*, *ūw*.
bu(*u*) inf. [OE *būȝan*] : *nu* adv. 12801, 12819, 12987.

: *tru* inf., pr. 10902, 14496, 20766.
: *þou* pron. 18356, C *bu* : *tu* pron. 24194.
forhu inf. [OE **forhuȝian* instead of *forhoȝian*. *forhuȝian* is, however, recorde das early as c 1160, see NED] : *tru* 19949.
buud pt. : *truud* pt. 19131, 19380, 19529.
buus pr. : *truus* 17587.
mu [OE **muȝan*, cfr. Orrm. *muȝhenn*] : *þou* 23559.

§ 392. OE *ū* + ȝ, *u* + ȝ in self-rime.
forhuud pt. [OE **forhuȝode* instead of *forhoȝade*] : *buud* pt. 22771, 23048.

§ 393. *ō* + *w* [in the OE pronoun *eōw*] : OE *ū*, OE *ū* + ȝ.
yow, *ȝow* [OE *ēow* > *eōw* by shifting of stress; cfr. WILD p. 166] : *bue* inf. [OE *būȝan*] 19192.
: *how* adv. 4396.
: *kou* s. 6810.
: *now* 1432, 4995, 5078, 5169, 5449, 6849, 7720, 18293, 22304 : C *hu* 14098, 21377, C *juu* : *now* 3944.
: *tru* inf., pr. 5145, 5886, 6588, 12145, 13921, 14585.
: *bu*, *hu*, *nu* 15330.

§ 394. OSc *ú*, *uȝ* : OE *ū*, *ŭ* + ȝ, *ōw*.
bu s. [OSc *bú* = stock of cattle] : *cu* s. 6744.
bun adj. [OSc *búinn*] : *dun* adv. 3782, 11774, 19847 : *doun* 20187, C *bon* : *don* adv. 6108, 10737.
: *tun* s. 2776, 3318, 4862, 9138, 11596, 11751, 12270, 12311, 13211, 17422, C *boun* adj. : *tun* s. 11192.
drun inf. [OSc **druȝna* < **druŋna* < *druŋkna*, see BJÖRKMAN, Scand. Loanw. p. 176] : *dun* adv. 22566, 24857
: C *don* adv. 1848.
mis-tru inf. [OSc *mistrúa*] : *hu* adv. 8620 : *how* 14484.
: *tru* pr. 5808.

C *mistrau* : *yow* 17387.
mistrun inf. : *dune* adv. 17958.

§ 395. OSc *uʒ* : OSc *ú*.
droun [OSc **druʒna*] : *boun* [OSc *búinn*] 1652.

§ 396. AN (*o*)*u*, OFr *ou*, Lat. *u* : OE *ū*, *ŭʒ*, *ūw*, OE *ōw* [in *eōw*], OSc *ú*, *uʒ*.
a-lou [OFr *alouer*] : *þou* 20033.
a-wou inf. [OFr *avouer*] : *yow* 7308.
awoud pt. : *troud* pt. 17572.
baron : *tun* s. 1327.
bastune : *rum* inf. [OE *rūmian*] 14922. (ass.)
benisun : *bun* adj. 6137, C *beniscon* : *bun* 5355, C *bensun* : *bun* 3411, 17729.
: *dun* adv. 5462 C *benissun* : *don*.
: *run* s. [OE *rūn*] 3987.
: *tun* s. 3346 C *beniscon* : *tun*.
bule [OFr *boule*] = fraud : C *fule* C *fuxul* s. [OE *fuʒol*] 21269.
Chapharnaum : *tun* s. 12488.
chesun s. [AN *achesoun* < Lat. *occasionem*] : *dun* adv. 2237.
circumcisioun : *mistrun* s. [acc. to NED from the inf. *mistrun*, see § 394. With regard to *-n* cfr. *ron* and *ro* in § 361] 10985.
commun : *bun* adj. 10399, 19117.
: *tun* s. 7175.
concepcion : C *ron* s [OE *rūn*] 220.
conatus : *fus* adj. 23749.
croun : *boun* adj. [OSc *búinn*] 9069, C *corone* : *bune* 21797.
crachun : *bun* 23777.
: *dun* 10115.
dampnaciun : *tun* 14490.
disputisun : *tun* 13924.
d(*o*)*ute* s. : *about* prep. 2275, 2524, 3298, 9899, 10017, 11188, 13751, 23223, 23420.
: *loute* inf. 2294, 4305, 8355.

: *under-l(o)ute* s. 2294, 7163, 9774, 12636, 12988 : C *underlote* 2054, 5514.
: *rute* inf. [Norw. dialects *rūta* = roar] 21869.
: *ute* 6558, 18509, 22611, 22722.
: *þerout* 1333 : *þar-ute* 1977.
: *wit-oute* 2826, 23442.
inf. : *lute* inf. 6387.
Esau : *nu* adv. 3548.
: *tru* inf., pr. 3679, 3699.
: *mis-tru* 3651.
: *þou* 3725.
: *yow* pron. 140, 3598.
felun : *bun* adj. 14614, C *bon* 11482.
: *drun* inf. 5592.
: *dun* adv. 11895, 22195, C *felon* : *don* adv. 5895.
: *tun* s. 12036, 12983.
: *tun, dun, bun* adj. 16066.
generacions : *mistruns* s. pl. 9261.
gouernur : *ure* pron. 18365.
honur : *bur* s. 24714, C *anure* : *bure* 3921.
: *ur* pron. 488.
Iesus : *hous* s. 20394.
langurs : *scurs* s. pl. [OE *scūr*] 24602.
Lazarum : *bun* adj. 14376 (ass.).
leprus : *hus* 13987.
lessun : *bun* adj. 5843.
lichour : *bour* 4411.
nacioun : *tun* 18946.
Neron : *tun* 20987 : C *town* 20909.
orisun : *bun* adj. 11349.
: *dun* 8264, 10711, 19633, 21066 : C *doun* 20896
: C *don* adv. 8894, C *orison* : *don* 8125.
: *run* inf. [OE *rūnian*] 21911.
: *tun* s. 10568, 17801.
passiun : *bun* adj. 8975.
: *run* s. [OE *rūn*] 21911.
pauilun : *tun* s. 8196.
C *pinion* s. : *tun* s. 12959.

C *porcion* : C *boun* adj. 4745.
prisun : *dun* adv. 4173, 18143, 18239, 23203, 23316, C *prisown* : *down* 20983.
: *tun* s. 19703.
C *procession* : *bun* adj. 8201.
C *precessiun* : *tun* s. 20714, C *town* 20698.
pru s. [OFr *prou*] = profit : *nu* 24294.
: *tru* 5829, 14707.
: *þou* 23918.
: *3ow* 783, 5415 : C *yow* 21944, C *prow* : *yow* 6565.
G *ransun* C *ranscum* : *dun* adv. 18333.
religioun : *tun* s. 18943.
resun : *bun* adj. 4794, 21958.
: *droun* inf. 5914.
: *dun* adv. 11664, 12430, 14345.
: *mistrun* s. 10536.
: *tun* s. 8651, 12619.
un-resun : *dun* adv. 12038.
rute s. : *abute* 5311, 13503.
C *rutte* s. : *lute* inf. 5155.
rute inf. [OFr *router*] : *abute* 14618.
Salamon : *tun* s. 14612.
scantliun [OFr *escantillon*] : *bun* adj. 8776.
: *dun* adv. 8807.
sermun (*sarmun*) : *bun* adj. 19425.
: *dun* adv. 13495, C *sermon* : *dun* 14092, C *sarmon* : *don* 20912.
: *tun* s. 19527, C *sarmon* : *tun* 19795 : C *town* 20392.
sermuns s. pl. : *tuns* s. pl. 22104.
Simon : *bun* adj. 12546.
E *sumun somun* s. [from the inf. AN *sumuner*, or a back-formation from AN *sumunce* (OFr *somonce*) misapprehended as a plural form] = summons
: *bun* adj. 23822.
G (*a*) *sume* s. E (*a*) *su* . . . C *asume* [AN *sum*(*m*)*e*, see GODEFROY, Dict. de l'ancienne langue française s. v.

somme meaning, inter alia, 'résumé'] = principal points, résumé, summary : *rume* s. [OE *rūm*] 20856. *a* in *a sume* is the indefinite article, not a preposition, as KALUZA considers in the Glossary, translating the expression with 'in sum'. For the long *ū*, proved by the rime, see BEHRENS, Beiträge zur Geschichte der französischen Sprache in England p. 116, where such illustrative spellings as *soumme, soume* are found.

spus s. [OFr (*e*)*spous*] : *hus* s. 3908, 11131.
spus s. [OFr (*e*)*spouse*] : *hus* s. 10828, 11201, 11512.
spus inf. [OFr *espouser*] : *hus* s. 10653.
statut : C *underlutte* s. = subject 11190.
stur s. [OFr *estour*] : *ur* pron. 7465.
sune s. [AN *sun*] = sound : *bun* adj. 2359.
: *dun* adv. 11685, 18320, 18916.
sunes s. pl. : *tunes* s. pl. 23453,
sune inf. [AN *suner*] : *dune* adv. 22486.
tresun : *tun* 7077.
ture s. : *bure* s. 9806.
C *venison* : *bun* 3501.
vou s. : *hu* 10698.
: *mistru* s. 8433.
: *þon* 19221.
: *yow* 7308.

§ 397. OFr *ü* : OE *ū*(*ȝ*) *uȝ*, OSc *ú*, OE *ūw*, *ōw* (in *eōw*).
Iesu : *bou* inf. [OE *būȝan*] 17533.
: *nu* 11359, 12713, 13575, 14226, 17378, 19332, 19472, 22474 : C *now* 6910.
: *tru* inf. 13004, 13422, 13951, 14475, 17405, 17519, 18416.
: *þou* 12133, 12499, 12845, 12893, 14105, 17305, 18081, 24060.
: *yow* 11567, 11914, 12160, 12672, 13089, 13687, 14565, 17506, 17830, 18461, 18776, 19017.
: *nu, bu, tru* 15096.

: *nu, hu, þou* 15750.
vertu [OFr *vertu*] : *tru* inf. 11791, 21633.
C *virtu* : *þou* 21555.
FG *warnestour* C *wermestore* [OFr *warnesture*] : *boure* s. 1697.
The rimes show a levelling of OFr *ü* and OE, OSc *ŭ*.

§ 398. OFr *iu* : OE *ū*(ʒ), OSc *ú*, OE *ō* + *w* (in *eōw*), OFr *ü*.
Iuu [OFr *Giu* = Jew] : *Iesu* 18580.
: *now* adv. 3943.
: *tru* inf. pres. 14243, 18579, 20750, C *trou* 22716.
: *yow* 20705.
: *bu* [OE *būʒan*], *yow, tru* inf. 16714.
Iuus pl. : *brous* s. pl. [OE *brū*] 14746, 17429.
: *truus* 22441.
: *mistrus* s. plur. 9351 : C *mistruus* pr. 17401.

§ 399. OFr *ü* : OFr *ü*.
Iesu : *vertu* 22407.

§ 400. OFr *üi* : OFr *ü*, OE *ū*.
destru [OFr *destruir*] : *Iesu* 22133.
C *trote* [OFr *truite*] : *abote* prep. 8150.
trute : *ute* 11884.
To judge from the above rimes OFr *üi, ü* and OE *ū* have all been levelled under *ū*.

§ 401. AN (*o*)*u*, OFr *ü, iu*, Lat. *u* rimed inter se.
achesun : *resun, tresun, felun* 16298.
G *amunt* C *a-mont* : G *acunt* C *a-cont* 21423.
annunciaciun : *concepciun* 11013.
: *pardun* 11002.
ascension : *orisun* 18912.
: *resurrectiun* 22717.
: *sermon* 20940.
a-vou : *Iesu, hu, tru, vertu* 17008.
C *bandon* : *burjon* 10735.
C *bandom* : *crachon* 9014.
baneur : *sauueur* 12723.

barun : *processiun* 21602, C *baron* : *procession* 8069.
C *baron* : *visiun* 4516.
benis(c)un : *malison* 3666.
: *orisun* 10481.
: *processiun* 18763.
: *remisiun* 20048.
: *reson* 3657 : *unresun* 3747.
: *sesun* 3509.
: *sermon* 9764 : *sarmun, bun* adj., *run* s. 15230.
: *venisun* 3687, C *venisun* 3615.
canun : *religion* 22001.
Capharnaum : *Zebulon* 13247.
champiun : *ranscun* 18652.
colurs : *flurs* 23694.
commun : *malisun* 10491.
: *resun* 8837, 12243, 19865.
confessur : *pastur* 20868.
contrarius : *enwius* 14460.
corbun s. [OFr *corbin* but with substitution of the suffix *-in* for *-un*] : *resun* 1891.
crachuns s. pl. : *legiuns* s. pl. 18197.
creatur : *honur* s. 7593, 18802, 23586 : inf. 10229 : *mishonur* 23644.
: *hore* s. [AN *houre*] 8075.
: *labour* 1985.
: *natur* 21888.
: *scripture* 328.
: *traiture* 1119, 12936.
: *ture* s. 417.
crun (*cron*) : *beneson* 5448.
: G *malisun* C *maliscon* 3709.
: *resun* 10528.
curse : *flurs* 8488.
: *paramurs* 51.
: *socurs* s. pl. 9910.
dampnacioun : *resun* 12775.
duke : *Belsabuk* 18229.
dute : *route* s. 7537.

: *rute* inf. [OFr *router*] 11633.
emperour : *conquerour* 3.
: *stur* 18180, 21381.
enchaunturs : *iogulurs* 5898, C *enchaunters* : *iugulors* 22112.
errur : *jugelur* 20892.
faciun : *religiun* 12676.
felun : *naciun* 2070.
: *prisun* 9566, 19290.
: *resun* 773, 14695, 14869.
: *Symeon* 14439.
: *tresun, resun, tun, dun, bun* 16062.
figurs : *naturs* 22147.
flur : *honur* 21736.
: *odur* 6367, 10130.
: *sauur* 6381, 20788, 21297, 22880.
: *saueour* 10362.
frunt s. : *funt* s. 19887. *frunt* is often found with *ou*-(*ow*) spellings in ME. and *funt* as well, e. g. twice in Shoreham. A rime *ŭ* : *ŭ* is, however, possible; cfr. Orrm. *funnt*.
fusun : *benisun* 13514.
: *resun* 8515.
gunphanun : *ranscun* 21731.
gouernur : *stour* [OFr *estour*] 18417.
honur : *imparur* 19808.
: *ure* s. 488.
labour : *tour* 2229.
langur : *succur* 4320, 24479.
Lazarum : *resun* (ass.) 14478.
leon : C *fasium* 21319.
: *questiun* 22891.
: *resun* 18644.
Mahun [AN *Mahun*] = Mahomet : *cron* 7457.
C *maliscun* : *resun* 19579, C *malicoun* : *resun* 10269.
malisun : *tresun, dampnaciun, bun* adj. 15474.
mesure : *labore* 1725.
naciun (*nacion*) : *cipriun* 21218.
: *commun* 241.

: *prisun* 7247.
: *resun* 13939.
: *resurrecciun* 19290.
opinion : *passion* 8844.
our s. [AN *houre*] : *sauueour* 4666.
C *hore* : *ture* 8934.
orisun : *passiun, run* s., *dun* 15706.
: *resun* 10221, 14742, 21581.
: *Symon* 18873.
paramour : *socure* 70.
pardun (*pardon*) : *afflicion* 14111.
: *benisun* 264.
: *concepciun* 24953.
: *ranscun* 8111.
: *resun* 9374, 21655.
passiun : *resun* 21325.
: *resun, tun, bun* adj. 14986.
persun : *ranscun* 19943.
prisun : *chesun, felun, barun, malesun* 16442.
: *religiun* 23049.
: *resun* 4286 : *un-resun* 13166.
: *sermon* pr. 19320.
: *visiun* 4454.
promission : *un-resun* 6923.
: *Salomon* 14432.
pru s. [OFr *prou*] = profit : *vou* s. 24907.
purueur : *socur* 4608.
ranscun (*ranscon*) : *passion* 14915.
: *resun* 9771.
: *tresun* 14492.
resun (*reson*) : *concepciun* 24759.
: *dissenciun* 22238.
: *resurrectioun* 22918.
: *sesun* 22881.
: *signification* 3380.
: *Symon* 14050.
: *visiun* 4603 C *awision* 5215.
rute [OFr *router*] : *dute* 21869.

: *dute, wit-ute, abute* 15084 : *dute, þerute, abute* 15934.
sauueour [OFr *sauveour*] : *Imparour* 11277.
: *purueur* 11004.
: *socur* 5600.
sauur [OFr *savour*] : *licur* 13405.
: *sauueur* 1381.
sermun : *felun* 13244.
: *passion* 21100.
: *reson* 4863, 12759, 13880 : *unresun* 13017, C *sarmun* : *resun* 13346.
C *sarmuns* : *Tessaluns* 22220.
socur : *tresur* 4904.
: *tur* 9905, 18741.
stur : *succur* 24058, 24658.
: *werrur* 2203.
sune s. : *resune* s. 12196.
sunes s. pl. [AN *sun* = sound] : *draguns* 23303.
traitur : C *treietur*, FG *tregitour* [OFr *tre(s)geteour*] 18588.
tresun (*treson*) : *pardon* 1167, 2071.
: *reson* 1121 C *tresum* : *resun* 3881 C *tresun* : *resun* 4374, 11955, 14162.
: *felun, passiun, mistrun* s. 15354.
: *resun, felun, run, tun, barun, bun, dun* 16870.
: *tun, resun, mistrun* inf. *redibun* 15498.
werrur : *prechur* 20934.
: *tur* 22347.
wou : *Iesu, nu, yow* 15254.

§ 402. *u* in unstressed words (enclitica) : *ū*.
þus adv. [OE *þus*] : *hus* s. 4443.

§ 403. OE *ū* + *v* (written *f*) : OFr *ü*.
scou s. [from the OE inf. *scūfan*] : *Iesu* 12034.

§ 404. *almus* s. [accord. to BJÖRKMAN Scand. Loanw. not from OSc *almusa*] : *fus* adj. 19764.

: *hus* s. 19813.

§ 405. *crus* adj. [possibly connected with MLG *crûs* adj.]: *fus* adj. 21882.
: *hus* 14740, 17303.
: *spus* s. [OFr (*e*)*spous*] 3043, 24197.

§ 406. *grū* inf. [cognate with the synonymous OHG *in-grûên*]: *tru* inf. 24494.
: *mistru* 23027.

§ 407. C *sow* inf. [of obscure origin] = pain : *now* adv. 6567. KALUZA wants to emend *sow* into *hreow* [OE *hrēowan*], but that would not give a correct rime.

-umb.

§ 408. AN *u* + *mb*(*re*) in self-rime.
umber s. [AN *umbre*] : *cumber* inf. [AN (*en*)*cumbrer*] 8017.

From this single rime nothing can be inferred as to the quantity of the vowel. EILERS has overlooked this case when he says, p. 15: Im Cursor Mundi kommt ein Reim auf *-mb* nicht vor. On p. 80 he gives, however, such a rime as *comber* inf. : *noumber* from Roberd of Brunne.

-und.

§ 409. OE *ú* : OE *ú*.
fund inf. [OE *fundian*] : *sund* adj. 4879, 5091.
: *stond* s. 5019, 14557.
grund s. : *sund* s. 1841.
: *sund* adj. 2533, 4349, 6283.
: *stund* s. 2243, 5947, 8961, 11759, 14755 : *umstund* 21073, 23197, C *ground* : *stound* s. 20951.

: *wond* s. 6747, 7591.
wondes s. pl. : *stondes* s. pl. 17151, 24493.

§ 410. OE *ú* : AN *u*.
grund s. : *fund* inf. [AN *funder*] 127.
: *confund* inf. 7981, 19307, 22345.
stund s. : *fund* inf. 7875.
: *confund* inf. 19705.
: *respond* inf. 12181.

§ 411. *stund* : *Symond* = Simon 14030.

§ 412. *hund* s. : *stund* inf. The etymology of *stund* = 'bruise' is obscure 7557.

§ 413. OE *ú* rimed with *u* in the p. p. *stund* [of OE *stunian*, or *stund* = bruise].
grund s. : *stund* p. p. 12279, 12962, 22482, EG *stund* C *stunt* p. p. 19613.

§ 414. OE *ú* : *u* in the p. p. *fund* [of AN *funder*].
grund s. : *fund* p. p. 20901.
grund s. : *hund, fund* inf. [OE *fundian*], *stund* p. p. 15832.

The *u* in *stund* p. p. is probably short, so *grund* s., which is rimed with it, most likely has short *ú*. The other words are uncertain. *stund* s. has a parallel form *stunt*, with a decidedly short vowel; see § 110, and this fact perhaps proves a short *u* in *stund* s. too. Cfr. Barb. Bruce : *stount* with *ū* corresponding to *stūnd* in Mod. Scotch.

§ 415. OE *ú* + *nden* in self-rimes.
bunden p p. : *funden* p. p. 8825, 11254, 12117, 14145, 22040, C *bonden* : *funden* 4895.
: *wonden* p. p. [OE *wunden*] 14355.

§ 416. OE *ú* + *nd*(*e*)*r* in self-rimes.
under prep. [cfr. Orrm. *unnderr*] : (*in*) *sunder* adv. [OE *on sundran*] 8038.

: *sunder* inf., pr. [OE *sundrian*] 22242, 24616.
: *wunder* s. 377, 6596, 8259, 8898.
: *wunder* inf. 6426, 9093, 12476, 13803.
wonder s. : *sunder* inf. 17751.
: *in sundre* 22605.
u is probably short in the group *u* + *nder*.

-ung.

§ 417. OE *ú* + *ng* in self-rimes.
tung s. : *yung* adj. [OE. *ȝúng*] 10978, 12601 : C *yong* 1417, 8403, 12157, C *tong* : *yong* 2177.

§ 418. OE *ú* + *ng(e)n*.
suongen p. p. : *stungen* p. p. 17133.

-urn.

§ 419. OE *-ú* : *u* in *turn* [OE *turnian*, Orrm. *turrnenn*].
burn s. [OE *búrna*] : *turn* inf. 22577.
murn inf. [OE *múrnan*] : *turn* inf. 24727.
pr. subj. : *turn* inf. 14178.
C *morun* : *turn* inf. 19014.
morn s. : *turn* pr. 24232.
spurn inf. [OE *spúrnan*] : *turn* s. 3575.
s. : *turn* s. 4324, 4330, 19413, 23779.

§ 420. OE *ú* riming with *u* in the inf. *skurn*.
burn s. : *scurn* s. [from the inf. *scurn*] 8964. This sb. *scurn* does not mean 'scorn' as KALUZA suggests (and after him EILERS). The sense of 'flinching, hesitation', just as the corresponding verb means 'flinch, hesitate', suits the context much better. In that case what EILERS says in the Note on p. 43 is quite superfluous.
murn inf. : *skurn* inf. [origin discussed in Etym. Sect.] = 'flinch, hesitate' 23337, 24425.

§ 421. *skurn* inf. : *turn* s. 19446.

The rimes all point to short *u*. A form *skurrns* appears in line 20960.

ai.

§ 422. OE *æʒ* in self-rimes.

up-braid pt. [OE *-bræʒd*] : *said* pt. 5673.

dai s. : *lai* pt. [OE *læʒ* of *licgan*] 3798, 3823, 3873, 4498, 12494, 13130, 18159, 18595, 19829, 21569.

: *mai* pr. [OE *mæʒ*] 510, 3260, 5399, 7971, 13534, 18489, 20180, 20204, 20348, 20650, 21504, 22419, 24896, 24911.

: *sai* inf., pr. [from ONorth. *sæʒes* pr. sing] 216, 375, 702, 934, 1369, 1398, 2180, 2262, 3434, 5254, 5423, 6584, 6637, 6799, 6843, 7147, 7595, 8316, 8363, 8736, 8973, 9343, 9477, 10285, 10331, 10574, 10988, 11247, 12235, 12888, 13794, 14210, 14756, 17945, 18677, 18971, 19121, 21861, 22299, 22520, 22613, 22700, 22750, 23011, 23080, 24741, 24933, 24963.

domes-dai : *sai* 798.

fri-dai : *sai* 17669.

middai : *lai* pt. 20487.

to-dai : *lai* pt. 23500.

: *sai* 9602.

wijtsundai : *lai* pt. 18913.

dais s. pl. : *sais* pr. 351, 1482, 1900, 3894, 8817, 8888, 9156, 11282, 12926, 13763, 14241, 17545, 18666, 18980, 19381, 19654, 21192, 22214, 22257, 22271, 22367, 23683, 24764.

fordais s. pl. : *sais* pr. 19050.

fain adj. [OE *fæʒen*] : *main* s. [OE *mæʒen*] 24561.

: *slain* p. p. [OE *slæʒen*] 5010.

sai inf., pr. : *lai* pt. 350, 701, 4522, 6311, 7177, 7208, 7780, 8058, 8261, 8613, 8953, 10714, 11156, 11584, 11976, 12296, 12575, 14152, 19616, 20785.

: *mai* pr. 19624, 24891.
missai : *sai* 19424.
missaid : *said* 21481.
slain p. p. [OE *slæȝen*] : *main* s. 4000.

§ 423. OE *eȝ* in self-rimes.
again : *rain* s. 1770, 9153.
lai inf. [from OE *leȝes* pr.] : *wai* s. 3291.
: *awai* 23831.
forlain p. p. [OE *-leȝen*] : *again* 8623.
trei s. [OE *treȝa*] : *a-wai* 10472.
thain s. [OE *þeȝn*] : *again* 6721.

§ 424. OE *eȝ* : OE *æȝ*.
again : *fain* adj. 1388, 1888, 2531, 3094, 4095, 5187, 5319, 11330, 11920, 14251, 22626.
: *un-fayn* 3591.
: *main* s. 2624, 4378, 7479, 17987, 18090, 18616 19598, 21052, 21990, 22800, 22924.
: *slain* p. p. 1194, 6489, 7112, 7790, 8730, 13256, 18399 : C *slan* 24269, C *o-gain* : *slain* 20955.
: *fain, frain, slain* p. p. 15908.
braid s. [OE *bræȝd, ȝebreȝd*] : *said* pt. 18084.
up-braid inf. [OE *upbreȝdan*] : *said,* (*a*)*braid* adv., *on-laid* 16718.
up-braid s. [from the preceding verb] : *said* 10288, 10320, 18094.
frain inf., pr. [ONorth. *freȝna, fræȝna*] : *again* 5694, 5778, 7225, 17441, 18596.
: *fain* adj. 13616.
: *mayn* s. 7192.
: *slain* p. p. 14607, 15206.
lai inf., pr. : *dai* s. 14541, 17796, 18399, 24692.
: *sai* inf. 12506.
: *wai* s. 18062, 22895.
laid pt. : *said* 592, 766, 2052, 2604, 2608, 3668, 4150, 6230, 7824, 8948, 9435, 9828, 9982, 10578, 11286, 11764, 12514, 12534, 14166, 14308,

17381, 17409, 17539, 17689, 18107, 18456, 19511, 20707, 24472, 24600.

for-laid : *said* 24325.

ouer-laid : *said* 5503, 13465.

um-laid : *said* 5740.

um-bilaid : *said* 1335.

plai s. [OE *pleȝa*] : *dai* 22685.

: *sai* 2815, 3014, 6613.

plai inf. [OE *pleȝan*] : *dai* s. 22602, 23341.

: *halidai* 12276.

sail s. [OE *seȝel*] : *tail* s. [OE *tæȝel*] 12353.

trei s. [OE *treȝa*] : *dai* 9413.

: *sai, lai* pt., *ewai* 15694.

wai s.]OE *weȝ*] : *dai* 2827, 3045, 3552, 5490, 6193, 10761, 11590, 11710, 12340, 14194, 23179.

: *domesday* 2854.

: G *thures-dai* C *thrusdai* 18782.

: *lai* pt. 3820, 3928, 6184.

: *mai* pr. 23414.

: *sai* inf., pr. 1249, 3854, 4019, 6245, 11537, 11731, 11740, 12824, 14176, 14324, 14473, 17449, 19540, 19906, 20030, 22015, 23596, 24210.

: *missai* 14778.

wais s. pl. : *dais* 12623, 17951.

FG *wais* : *sais* pr. 14674.

alwais adv. [OAngl. *al*(*ne*)*weȝ* + *es*] : *dais* s. pl. 6167, 10207.

: *sais* pr. 12678, 21071.

awai adv. [OE *on weȝ*] : *dai* s. 2509, 2613, 2857, 3116, 5994, 8673, 12585, 18042, 18484, 19110, 19691, 20468, 20982, C *ewai* : *dai* 11385, C *ha wai* : *dai* 5797 C *on-wai* : *dai* 8068.

: *domes-dai* 8967.

: *enddai* 11848.

: *lai* pt. 3465, 7892, 8870, 17443, C *o wai* : *lai* 24609.

: *sai* inf., pr. 55, 2936, 3032, 4170, 5398, 5700, 5858, 6015, 7390, 8247, 9701, 11261, 12267,

12974, 13753, 17467, 17525, 22453, 24112, CG *a wai* 1966.

§ 425. OSc *ei* : OE *æȝ*, *eȝ*.

ai adv. [OSc *ei*] : *dai* s. 498, 645, 3196, 6095, 9979, 10421, 10505, 10644, 12571, 21955, 23701, 23928.
: *domes-dai* 9120.
: *halidai* 6473.
: *lai* inf. 19556.
: *lai* pt. 8931.
: *mai* pr. 5305.
: *sai* inf., pr. 48, 497, 9615, 9917, 12642, 23433, 24064, 24438.
: *awai* 3638, 6217, 8251, 23588.
: *sai, mai* pr., *lai* inf. 16340.

graid pt., p. p. [of OSc *greiða*] : *laid* pt., p. p. 1708, FG 11237.
: *said* pt., p. p. 549, FG 3534, 3686, 5105, 5190, 6102, 17809, 21389, 24397, 24503.
: *for-said* 9943.
: *said, braid* s., *laid* 16586.

nai adv. [OSc *nei*] : *dai* s. 4335, 4381, 5064, 8431, 10442, 21720, 23013.
: *domes-dai* 19293.
: *lai* pt. 19774.
: *mai* pr. 23815.
: *sai* inf., pr. 6603, 9839, 10882, 12291, 12299, 13450, 13670, 22168, 23533.
: *wai* s. 1284, 24744.
: *awai* 3918 : C *o wai* 20792 : C *a wai* 10780.
: *dai, sai, awai, mai* pr. 16248.
: *trei* s., *dai, sai* 17050.

rais inf. [OSc *reisa*] : *dais* s. pl. 17959, 22373.
: *sais* pr. 7949.

suain s. [OSc *sveinn*] : *again* 6280.

þai pron. [OSc *þeir*] : *dai* s. 2282, 3933, 4883, 5493, 5870, 6106, 8824, 12520, 19959.
: GF *hali-dai* 13829.
: *lai* pt. 2045, 2949, 6316, 6921, 8594, 17394.
: *mai* pr. 17850.

: *sai* 8011, 9322, 12046, 13564, 13893, 14391, 17361, 17439, 17711, 20001, 24309, C *tai* : *sai* 20333.
: *wai* s. 4810, 5127, 7600, 8055, 11521, 13476, 17816, 18206, 18967, 19373, 19915, 22856.
: *awai* 4572, 8942, 13741, 19312, 23144.
: *dai, mai, wai, awai* 16708.
: *lai* inf., *dai, sai* 16070.

þaim pron. [OSc *þeim*] : *again* (ass.) 12382.
unbain [OSc *úbeinn*] = disobedient : *again* 17735.
wai interj. [OSc *vei*] : *dai* s. 22471.
C *wail wai* interj. [in the OE ejaculation *wā la wā* the native *wa* was replaced by OSc *vei* = woe!] G *wala-way* EF *walewai* : *lai* pt. 24349.
C *wailawai* E *wailewai* : *mai* pr. 24868.
E *wailewai* C *wail wai* G *wailwai* : *awai* 22703.

§ 426. OSc *ei* in self-rimes.
ai adv. : *þai* pron. 8093.
FG *gnaist* C *gnast* [acc. to NED from OSc **gneista*] : FG *wraiste* inf. [OSc **wreista* > OIcel *reista*] C *wrest* 19353. The existence of a verb *wraist* is proved by the rime with *traist* adj. 21935.
graith s. [OSc *greiðe*] : *waith* s. [OSc *veiðr*] 3523.
C *haitt* pr. [OSc *heiti*] F *hatte* : F *layte* inf. [OSc *leita*] C *latt* 7323.
nai adv. : *þai* pron. 2772, 14828.
quain s. [OSc *kvein*] : *again* 12607, 22660.
: *slain* p. p. 11577, 23963.

§ 427. OSc *øy* : OE *æʒ, eʒ,* OSc *ei.*
lain inf. [OSc *løyna*] : *again* 1550.
laisd p. p. [of OSc *løysa*] : *raised* 18640.
: *frain* inf. 17657.
mai s. [OSc *møyj-* in oblique cases; cfr. *maʒʒ* in Orrm.] = maiden
: *dai* 10572.
: *sai* 11124.
: *wai* 10612.

unnait adj. [OSc-*nøytr*] : *lait* inf. [OSc *leita*] 5975.
CFG *snaipe* inf. [OSc *snøypa*] : *raipe* inf. [OSc *reipa*] 24024.
traist adj. [OSc *trøystr*] : *fraist* inf. [OSc *freista*] 23637. *fraist* is wrongly translated in the Glossary as 'be deprived of'. *fraist* (*of*), however, can also mean 'ask'; cfr. NED s. v. *fraist,* where an example of *fraist* = 'ask' is recorded from The Destruction of Troy 97: «Ffrayne will I fer and *fraist of* þere werkes». This meaning 'ask about' or 'for' is cognate with that of 'seek for, desire', recorded in NED, and suits this context very well, as it implies the uncertainty of the wicked as to their freedom as opposed to the certainty of the good.
: *fraist* s. [from the preceding verb] 9883.

§ 428. OFr *ai, ei* : OE *æʒ, eʒ,* OSc *ei, øy.*
air s. [OFr *air*] = air : *fair* adj. [OE *fæʒer*] 1211, 8971 : *unfair* adj. 22638.
: *lair* s. [OSc *leir*] 520.
air s. [OFr *eire, erre;* see further Etym. Sect.] = journey, way
: *fair* adj. 8971.
air s. [OFr *heir*] = heir : *fair* adj. 4015, 7381 : C *feir* 4223.
airs s. pl. : *þairs* pron. 7468, 14133, 23557.
G *ais* s. [OFr *aise*] C *es* : *sais* pr. 17651.
: *alwais* 10445.
Cayn : *slain* p. p. 1127.
claim s. [OFr *claime*] : *þaim* pron. 8703, 9303.
claim inf. : *þaim* 12813, 18533.
consail : C *hail* adj. [OSc *heil*] EFG *hale* 22306.
dozein s. [OFr *dozeine*] : *again* 11407.
fai s. [OFr *fei*] : *dai* s. 13249, 14075.
: *halidai* 11992.
: *nai* adv. 7561.
: *sai* inf. 12168, 19873, *parfai* interj. [OFr *par fei* (*fai*)] : *sai* 9298, 10256, 10972, 12423, 13105.
: *missai* s. 21474.
: *þai* pron. 12985, *par-fai* : *þai* 11447, 14680.

: *wai* 2733, 11530, 19373.
: *awai* 6487, *parfai* : *awai* 298.
parfai : *wai, þai, nai, sai, lai* inf. 15454.
fraid p. p. [of OFr *afrayer*] : *laid* 5813.
franckelain [OFr *fraunclein*] : *thain* s. 5373.
haire s. [OFr *haire*] : *unfair* adj. 22510.
Helayn [OFr *Heleine*] : *slain* p. p. 7049, 7082.
lai s. [OFr *lei*] : *ai* adv. 19735.
: *dai* 2700, 3012, 5651, 6647, 6954, 8872, 10675, 11291.
: *domesdai* 1473.
: *halidai* 11929, 13912.
: G *satirdai* C *setirs-dai* 21616.
: *lai* inf. 3512.
: *mai* pr. 6098, 21450.
: F *nai* adv. 19422.
: *sai* inf., pr. 6451, 6512, 7913, 10252, 12110, 12114, 12804, 14689, 14842, 18520, 21502, 22203.
: *þai* pron. 1427, 5556, 12826, 13593, 13660, 13804, 17602.
: *awai* adv. 2679, 6521, 10223.
: *ai, dai, mai* pr. 15042.
lais s. pl. : *dais* s. pl. 6457, C *laies* E *laiis* FG *laus* : C *daies* E *daiis* FG *daus* 21712.
Magdelain : *lain* s. [from OSc *løyna*] 13967.
: *forlain* p. p. [OE *-leȝen*] 13995.
: *quain* inf. [OSc *kveina*] 24009.
pay inf. [OFr *payer*] : *dai* 14040.
: *sai* 3586.
pain s. [OFr *peine*] : *again* 3488, 6971, 9715, 23723, 23762, 24368.
: *flain* p. p. [OE *flæȝen, fleȝen*] 21112.
: *layn* inf. 5282.
: *slain* p. p. 14480, 24156.
: *thain* s. 6692.
pain inf. : *again* 6208, 22548, 23888.
pair inf. [OFr *empeirer*] : *fair* adj. 13836.
pais s. [OFr *pais*] : *dais* s. pl. 2589.

EFG *un-pais* s. : *alwais* adv. 21970.
palais s. : *sais* pr. 17632, 20776.
plain adj., adv. [OFr *plain*] : *again* 929, 7564, 11229, 18748, 19747, 24291.
: *lain* inf. 9299.
prai inf. [OFr *preier*] : *dai* 1817, 19041.
: *sai* 12793, 19831.
: *sai, trai* [OE *treȝa*], *lai* pt., *ewai* 15698.
prai s. [OFr *preie*] : *dai* 834, 4216.
: *say* 3529.
prais inf. [OFr *preiser*] : *rais* [OSc *reisa*] 8234.
: *up-rais* 19858.
: *sais* 9036.
mispraise inf. [OFr *-preiser*] : *rais* inf. [OSc *reisa*] 18674.
purvai inf. [OFr *purveir*] : *wai* s. 13128.
purvaid (*puruaid*) (*purweid*) pt., p.p. : *said* pt., p.p. 323, 1612, 2580, 3102, 3600, 5026, 6644, 6876, 9621, 11217, 12903, 13393, 14819, 23405.
: *missaid* 19420.
: *braid* s. [OE *bræȝd* or *ȝebreȝd*], *laid, graid, said* 15712.
: *graid, said, laid* 15276.
un-puruaid : *said* 5444.
raim inf. [OFr *raimbre*] : *þaim* 23156.
Ramessai : *sai* 24797.
renai inf. [OFr *renaier*] : *awai* 22378.
renaid pt. : *said* 9054.
reclaim [OFr *reclaim*] : *again* 8577 (ass.).
: *þaim* 1577.
strait adj. [OFr *estreit*] : *nait* s. [OSc *nøyti*] 24745.
surfait s. : *nait* s. [OSc *nøyti*] 22883.
(*in*) *vain* (*wain*) adv. [OFr *vain*] : *again* 19411, 24832.
: *fain, frain, again* 16174.
trai [OFr *trair*] : *sai, ai, nei, walawai* 15360.
be-trai inf. [< *be* + OFr *trair*] : *dai, sai, wai* 16514.
Utaine : *again* 10452.
valay s. [AN *valeie*] : *þai* 2379.
wardain s. [OFr *wardein*] : *again* 4691.

werrai [OFr *werreier*] : *dai* 19702.
: *sai* 21981.
werraid pt. : *underlaid* 18265.
EF *verrai* [OFr *verai*] CG *werrai* : *domesdai* 22729.

§ 429. OFr *ai, ei* rimed inter se.
abbai s. [OFr *abbaie, -eie*] : *Ramsei* 24958.
Achai : *lai* s. 21000.
FG *ays* s. [OFr *aise*] C *es* : FG *palays* C *palis* 1316.
avail inf. : *consail* s. 4645, 13481, 14511, C *a-wail* : *consail* 7991.
C *chambur-laine* s. [OFr *chamberlaine*] : *Utaine* 10431.
F *conseyue* C *consaiue* inf. [ONFr *conceivre* (corresponding to OCFr *conçoivre*), *conceive-* (stressed form); cfr. HORN Hist. Neuengl. Gram. I p. 68] : F *perceyue* C *perceiue*, inf. [ONFr *perceivre, perceive-*] 10785.
conseiued p. p. : *perceiued* p. p. 11122.
Danais [ONFr *Daneis*] = Danes : *pais* s. 24796.
delai s. [OFr *delai*] : *fai* s. 2353.
: *parfai* adv. 12806.
derai s. [OFr *derei, desrei*] : *prai* inf. 23346.
fai s. : *lai* s. 3193, 18934.
fail s. [OFr *faile*] : *consail* s. 1827, 4583, 24710.
: *spusaile* s. 11175, CG *sposaile* 13710, FGT *spowsaile* C *special* 10026.
fail inf. [OFr *faillir*] : *consail* 24711.
: *spusail* 10809.
G *feine* T *fayne* C *feign* inf. [OFr *fei(g)n-*] : G *ateine* T *atteyne* C *a-teign* inf. [OFr *attei(g)n-*] 1113.
faint p. p. [OFr *feint*] : *aquaint* p. p. [OFr *aqueint*] 19535.
adj. : *plaint* s. [OFr *plainte*] 24014.
Iordaine [OFr *Jordain*] : *plaine* s. 2465.
lai s. : *ai, fai* s., *mai* s. = maiden 17070.
: *dai, parfai, awai, nai, sai* 16376.
: *sai, dai, lai* inf., *awai, mai* pr., *fai* s., *plai* s. 16898.
pay inf. [OFr *payer*] : *lai* s. 6745.

FG *paire* inf. [OFr *empeirer*] C *pere* : *air* s. [OFr *heir*] 8407.
pais s. [OFr *pais*] : *palais* s. 413.
: *prais* inf. [OFr *preiser*] 18310.
G *perceiued* F *persayued* [of ONFr *perceivre, perceive-*] C *perceueid* p. p. : G *disceyued* C *deceueid* p. p. 1894.
F *perceyued* G *percayued* C *parceueid* : F *dissseyued* G *dicayued* C *deceueid* 3171.
FG *perceyued* C *parceuid* : FG *disceyued* C *deceuid* 8625.
plains s. pl. [OFr *plaine*] : *monetains* s. pl. 1775.
plain adj. [OFr *plain*] : *main, pain* s. [OFr *peine*], *again* 17030.
quartain s. [OFr *quartaine*] : *plain* adv. 11827.
CEF *receiue* inf. [ONFr *receivre, receive-*] G *reciue* : EF *conceiue* C *conceue* G *conciue* 22077.
C *receiue* F *resceyue* G *rescayue* : *glaiue* s. [OFr *glaive*] 7745.
renai inf. [OFr *renaier*] : *lai* s. 8996.
(*o*) *strai* adv. [OFr *estraié*] : *lai* s. 6827.
taill s. [OFr *taille*] : *consaill* s. 11855.
traueil s. [OFr *travail*] : *auail* inf. 89.
: *consail* 4790, 6444.
trauailles pr. : *failes* pr. 3526.
wail inf. [OFr *vaile* pr.] : *consail* 3640.
: *fail* 7376, 24906.

§ 430. OSc *eg* : OE *eȝ*, OFr *ai*.
gain inf. [OSc *gegna;* cfr. Orrm. *geȝȝnenn*] : *again* adv. 12401.
: *plain* [OFr *plaine*] 8455.

§ 431. OSc *eig* : OE *ai*.
lai s. [OwSc *leiga;* see BJÖRKMAN Prov. p. 12] = hire : *dai* 11814.

§ 432. OE *æȝ* : OE *æȝ*, *eȝ*.
clai s. [OE *clæȝ*] : *dai* s. 401.
: *plai* s. 11934.
: *þai* pron. 5530.
: *awai* adv. 2499.
kai s. [OE *cæȝ*] : *away* 17357.

§ 433. OE *ēȝ* : OE *æȝ*.
twai num. [OE *twēȝen*] : *sai* 12699, 21756.

§ 434. OAngl. *ēȝ* : OE *æȝ*, OSc *ei*.
grai adj. [OAngl. *grēȝ*] : *ai* adv. 18850.
: *sai* 8288.

The rime *says* pr. : *beis* pr. [of *be* inf.] 2138 occurs only in C and so probably did not belong to the original. Moreover, *bes* pr. is the only form occurring in the rimes.

āu.

§ 435. OE *aȝ* in self-rimes.
aun adj. [OE *aȝen*] : *draun* p. p. [OE *draȝen*] 3091, 17992, 20061, 21679, 23967, 24021.
: *wit-draun* 8691.
FG (*of*) *daue* C (*on*) *dau* [OE *daȝum* dat. pl.] : *sau* s. [OE *saȝu*] 4167.
(*o*) *daus* s. pl. [OE *daȝas* s. pl.] : *draws* pr. [OE *draȝan*] 6779.
: *saus* s. pl. 18100.
: FG *soþsaus* 13227 C *saues* s. pl.
drau inf. [OE *draȝan*] : *sau* s. 791, FG 14848 C *lau* s.
: *witsau* s. [OE *-saȝu*] 5878.
sau s. [OE *saȝu*] : *gainsau* [OE *-saȝu*] 13036.
sau pt. [*saȝe*(*n*) pt. pl. from *sah* pt. sing. < OE *sæh*, or OAngl. *ȝesāȝun*] : (*o*) *dau* 2931, 7808.

§ 436. OSc *ag* : OE *aȝ*.
au s. [OSc *aga*] : (*o*)*dau* 19477, C *auu* : C (*on*)*dau* 14533.
: *drau* inf. 5520, 22181, 22451, 22543.
: *up-drau* inf. 6330.
: *mau* s. [OE *maȝa*] 22393.
: *plau* s. [OAngl. *plaȝa* by the side of *pleȝa*] 18167.
: *sau* s. 13806, 18049.
: *onsau* s. [OE *onsaȝu*] 19427.
C *agh* s. : *soth-sagh* s. [OE *sōþsaȝu*] 8912.
: *sau* pt. 7474 : C *sagh* pt. 14804.
felaus s. pl. [OSc *félagi*] : *saus* s. pl. 13441.

lau s. [OSc **laȝu* > OIcel. *lǫg*] : *drau* inf. 2315, 13809.
: *sau* s. 1570.
: *gainsau* s. 14816.
: *missau* s. [*mis* + OE *saȝu*] 14682.
: *sau* pt. 6553, 18539, C *lagh* : *sagh* pt. 6654, 7095, 10259, 12007, 12464, 12618, 12769.
: *sau* s., *dau, witdrau* 15852.
: *sau* s., *sau* inf. [from *sau* s.], *dau, drau* 16550.
laus s. pl. : *daus* s. pl. 6944, 8584, C *lauus* : *dauus* 4081.

§ 437. OSc *ag* in self-rimes.
au s. : *lau* s. 1636, 12096, 13053, 19268.
C *felaghes* s. pl. : *laghes* s. pl. 22777.

§ 438. OE *āw* : OE *aȝ*, OSc *ag*.
knau inf. [OE *cnāwan*] : *au* s. 6987, G 18730, 23133.
: *dau* s. = day 5107, 21877.
: *drau* inf. 3278, 23482.
: *wit-drau* inf. 14575.
: C *lagh* s. 19432.
: *sau* pt. 12343.
knaun p. p. : *aun* adj. 8167, 14343, 14603.
: *draun* 2701, 3326, 21753.
be-knauin p. p. : *wit-drauin* p. p. 1905.
C *misknawen* : G *auen* C *nawen* adj. 17314.
on-knaun p. p. [OE *oncnāwen*] : *aun* 8627, 19102, 21464 : C (*þi*)(*n*)*aun* 7741, *a-knaun* p. p. : *aun* adj. 3092.
G *a-knawin* p. p., C *of-knaun* is a scribal error for *of on-knaun* [OE *oncnāwen*] = aware : *draun* p. p. 9060.
un-knaun : *aun* 11810.
: *draun* 18796.
knaus pr. : *draus* pr. 18035.
: *saghes* s. pl. 6600.
laus s. pl. [OE *hlāw*] : *daus* s. pl. 10293.
raw s. [OE *rāw*] : *draw* inf. 221.
: *sau* s. 5460.

saun p. p. [OE *ʒesāwen*] : *aun* adj. 1949.
: *witdraun* p. p. 4698.
scau inf. [OE *sc̣āwian* < *sc̣awian;* cfr. BÜLBRING § 333] : *au* s. 7228, 7946, 22176, 22244, 22504, 22714 : C *auu* 8794 : C *agh* 12092.
: *dau* s. 8415, 22674.
: *drau* inf. 2366, 12405, 10160.
: *felau* s. 18452.
: *lau* s. 115, 14417, 17504.
: *sothsau* s. 18486.
: *sau* pt. 1352, 4533, 19198.
scaun p. p. : *draun* p. p. 19889.
snau s. [OE *snāw*] : *au* s. 22692.

§ 439. OE *āw* in self-rimes.
blau inf. [OE *blāwan*] : *scau* inf. 22631.
crau inf. [OE *crāwan*] : *knau, au, drau, scau* 15996.
knau inf. : *scau* inf., 7361, 10708, 12918, 13929, 14627, 18960, 21546, 22450, 22741, 24922, E *schaw* C *sceu* 22996.
FG *knau* C *kneu* : FG *schau* C *sceu* 12885.
knaud p. p. [weak p. p. of *knau* inf.] : *scaud* p. p. [weak p. p. of *scau* inf.] 1161.
lau s. [OE *hlāw*] : *knau* 7394.
raw s. : *knau* inf. 4852.

§ 440. OE *āʒ* : OE *aʒ*.
T *þrawe* s. [OE *þrāʒ*] C *tharu* : *drau* 757.
thrau : *wiþdrau* 19176.
: *soth-sau* s. 22432.

§ 441. OSc *āg* : OE *aʒ*.
lau adj. [OSc *lágr*] : *au* 1773, 22999 : C (*na*)(*n*)*aw* s. 482.
: *drau* inf. 22575.
: *sagh* pt. 18166, 11259.

§ 442. OE *āʒ*, OSc *āg* : OE *āw*, OSc *āg*.
lau adj. : *scau* inf. 18989.

mau s. [OSc *mágr* or possibly from ONorth *māʒas* in the plural] = kinsman : *lau* adj. 2807.
thrau s. [OE *þrāʒ*] : *raw* s. 3281.
wau s. [OE *wāʒ*] = wall : *lau* adj. 7668.

§ 443. Lat. *au* in self-rime.
Paul : *Saul* 19465.

§ 444. The Greek word *tau* : *knau* inf. 12200.

§ 445. The sb. C *warlau* G *warlawe* [OE *wǣrloʒa*] : *au* s. 23747.
: *lau* s. 9053.

ẹ̄i.

§ 446. OAngl. *ē* + guttural ʒ in self-rimes.
drei inf. [OAngl. *drēʒan*] : *ei* s. [OAngl. *ēʒe*] 24538.
: *hei* adj. [OAngl. **hēʒ-*, *hēh*] 2248, FGT 1781.
ei s. [OAngl. *ēʒe*] : *hei* adj. 13449, 18655.
flei s. [OAngl. *flēʒe*] : *sei* pt. pl. [OAngl. *sēʒon*] 5959.
flei inf. [OAngl. *flēʒan*] : *drei* inf. [OAngl. *drēʒan*] 23621.
lei inf. [OAngl. *lēʒan*] : *drei* inf. 24363.
: G (*wid*) *ei* s. [OAngl. *ēʒe*] C *wit hei* 17843.
: *hei* adj. 21140.
FG *nei* adv. [OAngl. **nēʒ-*, *nēh* adj.] C *nei* inf. : *hei* adv. 1041.
sei pt. [OAngl. *sēʒon*] : *drei* inf. 23954.
: FG *ey*(*e*) s. C *he* 1346.
: *lei* inf. 5053.
: *nei* adv. 17907, 21061.
: *hei, ei* C *hei, lei* 16214.
sei inf. [analogically introduced into class II of the strong verbs. On the model of *flei* inf. — *flei* pt. a new infinitive *sei* was formed from the preterite *sei*, see above; cfr. LUICK Stud. p. 147] : *ei* s. 4077, 6706, 20613, C *se* : *ei* s. 18500, EFG *eie* C *hei* 23462.
: *hei* adj. 7446, 10595, 22322.

§ 447. OE *ē* + palatal *ʒ* : OAngl. *ē* + guttural *ʒ*.
dei inf. [late OE *dēʒan;* cfr. LUICK Stud. p. 146 and LUICK Unters. § 166 ff.] : *drei* inf. 951, 1025, 1299, 4770, 5309, 6238, 10918, 22187, 22560, 23225, 24185.
: *ei* s. 11324, 17727, 24259 : C (*þi*) (*n*)*ei* 5223.
: *flei* pr. subj. 6675.
: *lei* inf. 652, 3613, 7959.
: *nei* adv. 767, 5446, 14908.
: *sei* pt. 8767, 24121.
wreid pt. [from the inf. *wrei* < OE *wrēʒan;* cfr. LUICK Unters. § 166 ff.] : *leid* pt. [of *lei* inf. < OAngl. *lēʒan*] 18555.

§ 448. OE *ē* + palatal *ʒ* in self-rime.
wrei inf. [OE *wrēʒan*] : *dei, drei,* inf. *sei* C *se* 16460.

§ 449. OSc *ǽg* : OAngl. *ē* + guttural *ʒ*, OE *ē* + palatal *ʒ*.
slei adj., adv. [OSc *slǽgr*] : *dei* inf. 14312.
: *ei* s. 4312.
: *hei* adj. 8798, 10586.
: *dei, wrei,* inf., *lei* 16048.
unslei adj. : *ei* s. 21632.
: *hei* adj. 1683.

§ 450. OSc *ē* + *g* : OAngl. *ē* + guttural *ʒ*.
stei pt. [OSc *sté* + *g* from the other verbal forms; see BJÖRKMAN p. 62 Note] : *sei* pt. 22724.
upstey pt. : *sey* pt. 203.
stei inf. [analogical newformation from *stei* pt. (see above) on the model of *flei* inf. — *flei* pt., *sei* inf. — *sei* pt. (see above)] : *hei* adj. 18668, 18750.
: *sei* pt. 17758.

§ 451. Lat. *ei* : OAngl. *ē* + guttural *ʒ*.
Galilei : *sei* pt. 18961.

§ 452. The adv. *on drei* [probably connected with OE *ʒedrēoʒ* adj. and OSc *driúgr*] : *hei* adj. 23657.

: *nei* adv. 730, 21859.
: *slei* adj. 5511.

§ 453. The sb. *wei* [of doubtful origin] = 'a short space of time, a while' : *dei* inf. 6141, 12531, EF *weie* C *wai* : *deie* inf. 23009.
: *hei* adj. 11665.
: *slei* adv. 8419.

C *wai* G *quili* ought to be emended to *wei* : *drei, slei, hei* 16994.

C *a-wai* riming with *ei* = 'eye' 13545 should also be emended to *a wei;* G offers a better reading with *a-wei,* where only the hyphen ought to be removed. Both Notes and Glossary are wrong in rendering *a-wai* as = 'away'. In this case there would have been an incorrect rime *ai* : *ēi*. *a wei* in this passage means 'a bit'; compare the above examples, where *wei* has the more specific sense of 'a bit of time', 'a short space of time'. *wei* had another special signification of 'a short distance'; see The Century Dictionary s. v. *wee*. As to the etymology of *wei* SKEAT assumes a borrowing from OSc *vegr* = 'way', but I think that this derivation is impossible, as the OSc combination *-eg* is represented in ME by- *ai* (see § 430), and all the above rimes point to *ēi*.

ēu.

§ 454. OE *ēow, ēw* in self-rimes.

bleu adj. [OE *blēow*] : *kneu* pt. [OE *cnēow*] 7575.
: *neu* adj. 6503.

G *breu* F *brew* C *bru* pr. [OE *brēowan*] : FG *rew* C *ru* [OE *hrēowan*] 4137.

gleu s. [OE *glēow*] : *kneu* pt. 4209, 12933, 20588 C *glu* : *kneu* 11032.
: *neu* adj. 1522, 7252, 23360.

greu pt. [OE *grēow*] : *treu* adj. 19399.

heu s. [OE *hēow*] : *neu* adj. 4225, 8121, 8294, 9951, 9984, 23675.
: *tru* adj. 9913.

kneu pt. [OE *cnēow*] : *reu* inf. 24087.
: *untreu* adj. 13946 : C *untru* 6902.
neu (*new*) adj. [OE *nēowe*, OAngl. *nēwe*] : *breu* inf. 117.
: *reu* inf. 1281, 6784.
: *treu* adj. 2150, 19263, 22008, 23660, 22710 : C *tru* 2388, 2663, 18672, 21644, C *nu* : *tru* 11432.
: *untrew* 73.
reu inf. [OE *hrēowan*] : C *tru* adj. 3133, 14172.
: *treu* adv. [OE *trēowe*] 18420, 23962.
seu pt. [OE *sēow* of *sāwan*] : *gru* pt. [OE *grēow*] 12325.
treuth s. [OE *trēowþ*] : *reuth* s. [OE **hrēowþ*] 14072, 24053, C *truth* : *reuth* 9661.

§ 455. OFr, Lat. *eu* : OE *ēow*.
Chananeu : FG *treu* C *tru* adv. 21165.
Deus : *reus* pr. [OE *hrēowan*] 7967.

ę̄u.

§ 456. OE *ēaw* : OFr, Lat. *eu*.
schreus s. pl. [OE *scrēawa*] : *Phariseus* 14825.
theu s. [OE *þēaw*] : *Andreu* 13275, 20096.

§ 457. OFr, Lat. *eu* in self-rimes.
Andreu : *Barthelmeu* 18871.
Bartillmeu : *Thadeu* 13288.
Phariseus : *Saduceus* 19296.

Note. The rime *deu* s. [OE *dēaw*] : *heu* s. [OE *hēow*] 22463 is a rime *ę̄u* : *ę̄u* and accordingly incorrect.

iu.

§ 458. OFr *iu* in self-rime.
E *Griues* C *Gruus* [OFr *Griu*] : *Iuus* [OFr *Giu*] 13577.

§ 459. Such rimes as G *Greu* CFT *Gru* : *Hebru* 21197, *Gru* : G *Hebreu* 21291, and *Iues* : *Phariceus* 13577 are either rimes *iu* : *ẹ̄u* or the first two are perhaps *ū*-rimes.

oi.

§ 460. OFr *oi* in self-rimes.

FG *Babiloyne* [AN *Babiloine* < Lat. *Babilonia;* this form occurs frequently, e. g. in the Cambridge Psalter, by the side of *Babylon.* Note that in Italian *Babilonia* is the usual form instead of *Babylon*] C *Babilone* : *soyne* s. [OFr *soin*] 2266.

boile inf. [OFr *boill-ir*] : *oyle* s. [OFr *oile*] 11885.

crois s. [OFr *crois*] : *voice* s. [OFr *vois*] 21552, 21693, 21813, 24313 : C *woice* 11419, 17839, 17855 : C *voce* 24113.

ǫ̆u.

§ 461. OE *ow* in self-rime.

GT *nouþer* adv. [OE *nowþer*] C *noþer* : *ouþer* adv. [OE *owþer*] C *oþer* 6198. Orrm. gives *nowwþerr* and *owwþerr.*

§ 462. OE *o* lengthened in an open syllable + ȝ : OSc *ou* + *g.*

flou pt. [taken over from the OE p. p. *flozen;* cfr. LUICK Stud. p. 165] : *windou* s. [OSc **windǫuga* > OIcel. *vindauga;* see BJÖRKMAN p. 72]. *flou* may also have been developed from OE *fluȝon* pt. pl. and so contain *ǭu* due to lengthening of *u* in an open syllable. *windou* may also contain *ǭu;* cfr. BJÖRKMAN p. 72. Consequently an *ōu*-rime is equally possible.

ǭu (~ ǭχ).

§ 463. OE *ō* + *ȝ* riming with itself.

bogh s. [OE *bōh, bōȝe-*] : *inogh* adv. 4468, 8044, 8254, 8481, 11689.
: *slogh* pt. 24274.

drou (*drogh*) pt. [OE *drōh, drōȝon*] : *inou* adv. [OE *ȝenōh-, ȝenōȝ-*] 2189 : *inogh* 5702, 8925, 17431, 18225, 23067, 24485.

logh pt. [OE *hlōh, hlōȝon*] : *inogh* 2027, 18856.
: *bogh, wogh* s. [OE *wōh*], *drogh* 15022.

slogh pt. [OE *slōh, slōȝon*] : *drogh* pt. 5662, 6177.
: *forsoth* adv. [OE *sōþ*] 1254 (ass.).
: *inogh* 7659.

togh adj. [OE *tōh, tōȝe-*] : *inogh* 24439, 24735.

wogh s. [OE *wōh, wōȝe-*] : *drogh* pt. 21654.
: *inogh* adv. 1558, 19590, 21874, 22426, 23127, 24337.
: *slogh* pt. 161, 1213, 19501.

§ 464. OSc *ǫu* + *g* : OE *ōȝ*.

G *hogh* C *ogh* s. [OSc **hǫugr*, > OIcel. *haugr;* see BJÖRKMAN p. 70] = hill : *drogh, wogh, inogh* 15826.

§ 465. The sb. *sogh* s. [OE **swōh *swōȝ;* see further Etym. Sect.] = 'slough, swampy place' : *slogh* pt. 2501.

§ 466. The preterite *throu* : *drou* pt. [OE *drōh, drōȝon*] 24317. This rime proves that *throu* pt. contains *ǭu* and accordingly belongs to class VI of the strong verbs. The infinitive would in that case have a form *thrau,* but no corresponding infinitive form is found in OE with the sense of 'agonize', which would give a correct rendering here. A new formation in ME is thus probable, but a verb *thrau* (or *throw* in Southern) is not recorded earlier than 1513

(see NED s. v. *throw* v.[1] B. I, 2: «Quotations 1513, *a* 1650 appear to have the specific meaning 'to writhe in death-throes' and may perhaps be viewed as showing a Scotch form of *throe* v. 2», q. v. = 'suffer throes, agonize', just the sense suitable to this context). Our *throu* would then be the first example of *throe* v. = 'agonize'. The verb, whose infinitive was *trau* in the north, passed into class VI of the strong verbs and so obtained a preterite form *throu,* containing *ȯu*. The Glossary erroneously renders *throu* with 'threw', but that would give no sense at all.

§ 467. The rime *clous* s. pl. [OE *clōʒas*] 17590: *Iuus* [OFr *Giu*] is to be interpreted as a rime *iiu* : *iu*. This rime is therefore very instructive and worthy of attention, as it proves that OE *ō* had passed into an *ii*-sound even before 1300. LUICK in his Studien p. 127 speaks about this Northumbrian modification of OE *ō*: «Die Veränderung dieses Lautes tritt uns aber schon in Reimen des 14. Jahrhunderts entgegen, muss also um diese Zeit schon deutlich ins Ohr gefallen und schon vor 1300 eingetreten sein» and a few lines below «die northumbrische Modification des *ō* muss vor 1300 liegen, wenigstens in seinen Anfängen». LUICK does not, however, give any real proof of his statement about the modified sound. That *ȯ,* at any rate, was already modified into an *ii*-sound is shown by the above rime, which cannot possibly be accounted for in any other way.

Etymological Section.

air s.

air s. occurs only once, in line 8971, riming with *fair* adj. The complete line is as follows: «*And hamward sco tok hir air*». The Glossary renders this word *air* correctly with 'way'. The word is, however, not given in NED in this sense. *air* is an OFr loan-word, coming from OFr *eire,* or in a contracted form *erre,* which meant 'journey, way'. The phrase in question «*sco tok hir air*» had its exact equivalent in the following OFr expression found in Wace «*leur erre ont vers France priz*», where *erre* means «way»; see GODEFROY s. v. *erre* = '*voyage, route, chemin*'. NED mentions this word in the form *eyre* q. v. only with the sense of 'itineration, circuit' as a term of jurisprudence, but not in the above general sense of 'journey, route, way'.

beft pt., p. p.

beft occurs as pt. in ll. 14730, 24871 riming with (*bi*)*left* pt., 24840 riming with *weft* pt. and as p. p. in l. 2264 riming with *left* pt.; see § 54. Acc. to NED the verb is found only in pt. and p. p. NED assumes as possible a derivation from OE **behaftian* with loss of *-h-,* but that would have given a ME form *baft*(*en*) with *a* and not *e*. As *beft* occurs mostly as a preterite without any corresponding infinitive, one is inclined to interpret it as a specific preterite formation and thus to connect it with such irregular preterite forms as OE *hĕht, leolc* etc., i. e. reduplicated preterites. In OE and just in

ONorth. a form (*hondum*) *beóftun* actually existed; see BOSWORTH-TOLLER Suppl. I s. v. *beaftan*. *beóftun* is glossed with 'lamentabantur' i. e. 'beat with the hands as an expression of grief'. The word here in C. M. means exactly 'beat'. I look upon this ONorth *bēoft* as a reduplicated preterite from the OE infinitive *bēatan,* accordingly a pret. form parallel to OE *bēot*. *bēoft* pt. was developed from a Teutonic ground-form **þeþaut,* reduplicated pret. of the inf. **þautan* —, formed in the same way as, e. g., in Gothic *staistaut* pt. to *stautan* inf. This irregular pret. *bēoft* > *beft* is found in OE as well as in ME times only in the North, and this supports the above suggestion, since such irregular reduplicated preterites were peculiar to the Anglian and especially the Northumbrian dialects; see SIEVERS § 394, 1, Note 2. Being apprehended as a weak preterite form, the pret. *beft* was transferred to the p. p. by analogy.

blę̄s s.

blę̄s s. occurs riming with *rę̄s* (see 274) and with *vintrę̄s* (see § 275). As I have stated in § 274 I assume as the origin of the open *ę̄* or rather half-open *ē* (compare MORSB. § 111) an OE *e* which has been lengthened in an open syllable. NED gives an entirely wrong explanation of *bles* by deriving it from OE *blæse,* which would be represented, however, in ME by a form with *a* and not *e*. The ME form would then have been *blâse,* and this was the usual form, especially in the south. EDD, on the other hand, considers an OE form **blǣse* < **blaisjōn* (see § 43 in the Phonology) as its source. But in that case I am unable to connect the stem **blais-* with any words in the cognate languages. Assuming that the above rimes are correct, then in order to satisfy the conditions present, we must postulate an OE **blese* s. with short *e* in open syllable. This OE **blese* originated from WGerm. **blasiz,* accordingly an *i*-stem with the same root **blas-* as is found in OE *blæse* < *blasjōn*. **blasiz* has many representatives in other Germanic languages, such as MLG *bles,* Du. *bles,* Sw. *bläs,* all meaning 'a white spot on the forehead of a horse or cow'. Originally it meant 'some-

thing white, shining'. The stem **blas-* is found in MHG in the meaning of 'torch' and in OHG in compounds such as *blas-ros,* in MHG *blasen-hengst.* All these words are clearly connected with each other, and perhaps the English *blaze* = 'flame' and *blaze* = 'white spot' are one and the same native word, though the latter does not seem to be recorded till the 17th century.

bulk v.

bulk inf. is recorded only once riming with *skulk* inf. 18511. It seems to mean 'beat' in the phrase concerned «*Apon þair breistes can* (F *gon*) *þai bulk*». NED says about this word: «origin unknown. ?To beat». EDD gives two verbs *bulk,* one with the sense of = 'to butt, push with the horns', the other = 'throb, palpitate'. These two verbs are probably connected with this ME verb *bulk* = 'beat' and are originally from the same OE verb **bulcian* because of the resemblances both in form and signification. A word very similar in form and with the same meaning 'butt' is NE (dial.) *bult* corresponding with the Sw. *bulta;* cfr. TAMM, Etym. Svensk Ordbok, where a connection with such words as *buller* = 'noise', *bullra* = 'make a noise' is stated as possible. It is, indeed, very tempting to assume such a relation when one compares such words clearly cognate with each other as Sw. *dunka* = 'beat', ME *dunch* = strike, OSc *dynkr* 'stroke' and 'noise', originating from **dun-k-;* cfr OSc *dynr* = 'noise', OE *dynian* = 'make a noise', and with *t* OE *dynt* = 'stroke, blow', OSc *dyntr* = 'noise, din'.

drill v.

drill v. is found riming with *spill* inf. 23716 and: *will, fulfill, ill, till* 16390. Consequently it contains short *i.* NED says of this verb: »origin unknown» The meaning of the verb in C. M., is stated by NED to be 'delay, put off'. The English dialect verb *droll* rendered in EDD by 'delay, procrastinate', seems to be connected with this verb *drill,* at least as far as the meaning is concerned.

In the cognate continental languages we find e. g. OFris. *drölen* = linger, Du. *druile* = linger. We find more resemblances in the Scandinavian languages, e. g. OSc *drolla* = be slow, *drollsamr* = slow, Norw. Dial. *drûl, drŷl* q. v. in TORP, Nynorsk Etym. Ordbok. Further connections in Swedish dialects are seen in RIETZ s. v. *drula* = 'linger, delay'. The verb *drylt* in a Swed. dialect meaning 'to be slow in action' is another example. All these words point to a common Germ. root **drŭl(l)-* and from that a PrimOE formation **drulljan* may have been developed and been represented in OE by **dryllan,* which I assume as the possible OE ground-form for ME *drill* = 'delay'.

siquar s.

siquar sb. = 'time, moment' occurs frequently in rimes; see § 127. NED gives no information about its origin but offers an interesting parallel form from The Scotch Legendary Saints *sythware* and a form without *-w- sithar.* As the spelling *qu* represents OE *hw* we may combine these two different forms into a form *siþhwar,* and by adding a final *-f* an OE ground-form **siþhw(e)arf* may be constructed and analysed as consisting of the two existing OE nouns *sīþ* = 'going, journey', and *hw(e)arf* = 'turn', related to the verb *hwearfian* = 'turn, move'. The formation **sīþhw(e)arf* would in that case have the sense 'turn in going'; compare Swed. *gångvarv.* As a matter of fact, there existed in OE such compounds with *sīþ* + an ablaut-grade of a verb implying same sort of action. There are e. g. OE *sīþfær* = 'way, journey' and *sīþ-fæt* = 'journey', which also has a meaning very relevant in this connection, 'course of time'; see BOSWORTH-TOLLER s. v. *sīþfæt.* In Swedish there are a great many corresponding words and compounds implying 'course of time'; I need only mention *tidevarv* = 'age', and *varv, veva, vända* = 'turn' in such phrases as *i den vevan, i den vändan* = 'at that turn', 'at that juncture', *tre varv om midjan* = 'three times about the waist'. In English too, *turn* may contain an idea of time. As to the dropping of the final *-f* in OE **sīþ-*

hw(e)arf this phenomenon has taken place in unstressed positions, and a parallel case is observed in the frequently unstressed OE auxiliary *þ(e)arf* > ME *þar,* present form of OE **þurfan;* see NED s. v. *tharf.* A similar simplifying of a consonant group is seen in the case of another auxiliary OE *d(e)arr* > ME *darr* > *dar* (in an unstressed position); see § 118. With regard to the consonant group — *þhw* — such an accumulation of three consonants being of course very troublesome to pronounce, some modification of it had to take place and the most natural result would be the dropping of the medial consonant, which, indeed, occurred in the dialect found in The Scotch Legendary Saints, where OE **sīþhwarf* became *sithwar,* as is seen in the above example. In the dialect of Cursor Mundi the first consonant, *th,* seems to have dropped and the form *sihwar,* which always appears in C. M. as *siquar,* is developed.

skurn v.

skurn appears as a verb = 'flinch, hesitate', riming with *murn* inf. 23337, 24423 and *turn* s. 19445 and as a sb. [formed from the verb] = 'hesitation', riming with *burn* s. 8963; see further §§ 420, 421. NED only says about these words: «obscure origin; perh. cognate with ON *skirra-sk.* Cf. *scunner* v.», but entirely omits to mention its southern representative *skurn* = 'avoid, shun'; see NED *shurn,* where the following statement occurs: «Altered form of *scurn* v.» Owing to the existence of the southern *sh* any idea of directly connecting *skurn* with a Scandinavian form with *sk* is probably to be dismissed. It is very tempting to connect this word with *scunner* = 'flinch', but there is no southern variant of the latter with *sh-.* Modern forms of *scunner* in Scottish dialects still contain *sk,* and in the southern counties of Scotland forms with *sk-* instead of *sh-* are not at all rare; for examples see J. MURRAY: The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, p. 122. The suffix in *scunner* is, according to NED, apparently the frequentative suffix *-er,* and the dictionary suggests a connection with *shun* < OE *scunian.* The ME *skurn* would then be represented in OE by the form

**scunrian,* a frequentative verb. By metathesis of *nr* an OE form **skurnian* may have been developed. With this metathesis of *nr* compare the metathesis of *ns* in OE *clænsian,* by metathesis *clæsnian;* see BÜLBR. § 523.

sogh s.

sogh s. occurs riming with *slogh* pt. 2501, where it has the meaning 'muddy place, slough'. Apart from this it also means 'ditch, drain', and NED compares it with a word *zoeg* = 'small ditch in a meadow' in Antwerp. dial., but its origin is stated by the dictionary to be obscure. By the side of *sogh* NED records such forms as *swowze*, *swough* which are noteworthy, as they show that a *w* has been dropped before *o*. MAŘIK, p. 15, indeed, places this word *sogh* under the heading Cons. + *w* + OE *ōȝ* and with regard to the loss of *w* (p. 84) he states: «Der früheste Schwund eines *w* vor ME *ō* ist um 1300 verzeichnet.» As the Cursor Mundi is supposed to have been composed just before 1300 it is possible that a loss of *w* had taken place in the dialect of the author. In that case we should obtain a possible OE ground-form **swōȝ*, **swōh*. I think I have succeeded in finding cognates to OE **swōȝ* in the Scandinavian languages, e. g. Jutlandish *svau* = 'quagmire' and Sw. dial. *svag* = 'depression in a field, swampy place'; see further TORP Nynorsk Ordbok s. v. *svaga* and RIETZ s. v. *svag*. The meanings of all these words correspond very well with that of English *sogh*. The Antwerp. dial. *zoeg*, given by NED, seems to contain *ō*, but the dictionary has rendered it inadequately. According to CORNELISSEN-VERVLIET the form is really *zoĕg*, which implies a short vowel, and Flem. *oĕ* represents WGerm. *ŭ*. A WGerm. form **sug-* may very well have been developed from an older form **swug-*, as *w* before *u* was dropped in Teutonic. The *ō* of the English form represents the lengthened ablaut-grade of the *a* that occurs in the Scandinavian forms.

steck v.

steck inf., only recorded in MSS. EFG l. 22202, riming with *breck* inf.; see § 183. No dictionary, as far as I have seen, mentions this verb *steck,* which in this passage seems to have the meaning 'run away, take to flight'. A verb with precisely this meaning 'take to flight' is found in OIcel. in the form *støkkva;* see CLEASBY and FRITZNER. For the loss of *v* compare such OwSc words as *sløkkva,* and *gørva,* but ME *steck* may equally well be derived from the present tense sing. OIcel. *stekkr.* In the first period of the Scandinavian loanwords, however, *støkkva* appeared in a form with *-nk-,* and generally the Scand. loan-words have retained these older unassimilated forms; see BJÖRKMAN Prov. p. 6 foot-note 1. Yet in a few cases forms with *kk* < *nk,* thus representing a younger layer of loans from OScand, appear, as is shown in BJÖRKMAN Loanwords p. 169 and BJÖRKMAN Prov. p. 6 foot-note 1. A derivation of ME *steck* from OwSc seems therefore possible.

stime s.

stime sb. occurs riming with *time* sb. 19651, 22514, and is thus proved by these two rimes to contain a long *ī.* The Century Dict. supposes *stime* s. to be a variant of *steem, stem* (see Cent. Dict. *steam*) or perhaps a variant of *shim* < OE *scima.* The Glossary translates it with 'ray of light', but as it is only used here in such negative senses as «*he ne moght se a stime*», I prefer the rendering 'glimpse' or 'bit, particle', cfr. EDD s. v. *stime* I. sb. Although it seems very tempting to connect *stime* with such a word as Sw. (*till*)*stymmelse,* it is hardly probable, as Sw. *stymmelse* seems to be connected with Sw. *stomme* = 'figure, shape' and in that case there is no connection in meaning apparent. The other meanings of *stime* recorded in EDD should be noted, e. g. 'to open the eyes partially, peer' and the adj. *stimey* = 'dim-sighted'. In Swed. the sb. 'glimpse' is rendered by *skymt,* also meaning 'faint light', and the verb by

skymta, and they are related to the adj. *skum* = half bright and the sb. *skymning* = 'dawn, half-light'. The chief sense of the root **skum-* seems to be 'limitation of light'. This notion of 'limiting, checking' in a general sense is found associated with another root in Germ. languages **stam, *stum,* represented by the verbs *stämma* in Scand., *stemmen* = check in G., *stumm* in G., q. v. in KLUGE, *stumm sein,* originally = 'to have a stoppage in one's speech' and *stum* in the lengthened ablaut-grade, **stūm-* found in G. *ungestüm* adj. originally = 'not to be checked'; see KLUGE. Justas **stum* has got its specified meaning of 'stopping in speech', '**stūm-* may have obtained the sense of limitation in another specific direction = 'diminishing the power of vision', as seen in Engl. Dial. *stime* = 'peer with the eyes', and the adj. *stimey* = 'dim-sighted'. If this hypothesis is right, we may have had in OE a form **stȳm* < **stūmi-*. *stime* = glimpse would then originally mean 'the dim view one gets of an object'.

sualm s.

sualm s. occurs only in MSS. C and G, riming with *palm* 20758. *suelm,* a probable ablaut-form of this s. *sualm,* is recorded in The alliterative Romance of Alexander 750 and in Early English Alliterative Poems III, 3 with the sense of 'heat, glow'; see *swelm* sb. in STRATMANN-BRADLEY. In the passage in C. M. it seems to imply some kind of illness. The Glossary translates it with 'sickness'. MLG. has *swalm* = 'qualm' and ODan. *svalm* = 'smoke', but in ODan. it also has the meaning 'attack of illness'. In Dan. and Scanian dialects (see FEILBERG and RIETZ) *svalm* means 'suffocating heat in a room', 'warm steam', 'lukewarm wind'. *sualm* is further probably connected with G. *schwül* q. v. in KLUGE = 'sultry', OE *swelan, swǣlan* = 'burn' and OE *swōl* s. = 'feverish heat'. For further connections see TORP Nynorsk Et. Wb. s. v. *svæla.* An idea of 'heat, especially in motion', seems to be common to all these probably related words. Especially the OE *swōl* = 'feverish heat' leads one to think that 'fever' might be the most probable signi-

fication of this ME *sualm*, as it seems, to judge by the context »*Ga to þaa men þat lijs in sualm and þai sal both hef hel and witt*» to imply some sort of illness. The meaning 'fever' would, I think, suit very well here, as in the last part of the text given above *witt* s. is mentioned, and, as is well-known, in the case of a feverish disease even the 'wits' are sometimes temporarily lost.

utenem adj.

utenem adj. riming with *strę̄m* 4827 and *utenemes* : *strę̄mes* 1315 (see § 209) are by these rimes certainly proved to contain *ę̄*. They mean 'exceptional' and the original sense is seen by a parallel word *utnume(n)*, also meaning 'exceptional, exquisite'. A meaning 'taken out' or 'worth being taken out' seems to be the original one. *utenem* cannot represent the lengthened ablaut-grade of OE *niman* = 'take'. A WGerm **nāmi-* would give OE *nēm-* and ME *nę̄m* with close *ē*. We may, however, find the origin of this *-nę̄m* in OSc *-nǽmr*. *-nǽmr* was a very common form, from which adjectives could be composed usually by adding an adverb, e. g. *auð-nǽmr, sótt-nǽmr, tór-nǽmr, ú-nǽmr, upp-nǽmr*. Some of these compounds, indeed, had a passive sense, i. e. denoting that something could be taken e. g. *upp-nǽmr* = 'seizable', *auð-nǽmr* = 'easily learned', *sótt-nǽmr* = 'apt to be taken ill'; see CLEASBY.

wer(e) s.

wer(e) sb. = 'doubt' is proved by a great many rimes to contain a close *ē;* see § 255. *wer(e)* has nothing to do with OSc *vari* = 'caution' or OE *wær* = 'aware' nor with the OE verb *werian,* as CURTIS in Anglia XVII p. 13 thinks possible. I connect this *wę̄r(e)* with an unrecorded OE **wēr-* < **wǣr-* < **wōri-*. The stem *wōri-* is represented in Scand. by *ør* = 'giddy, confounded'; see FALK u. TORP Et. Wb. s. v. *ør*. In OE there

existed a closely related form in the verb *wōrian* = 'wander about', which was also used in a figurative sense = 'vacillare, dubitare, anxiare', and these last significations correspond exactly with the meanings of the ME *wēṛ(e)* = 'doubt, fear'. In Roberd of Brunne's Chronicle 2126 *wēṛ* occurs with the meaning of 'confusion', and this resembles very closely the sense of the Scand. word given above.

Addenda et Corrigenda.

p. 3, top line. After [OE *palm(a)*] insert: — 20758.
p. 24, l. 9 from below. After preterite insert: — and past participle.
p. 42, l. 9 from below, for sowewhat read: — somewhat.
p. 42, l. 8 from below. A semicolon should appear after the brackets.
p. 42, l. 8 from below, for the- read: — the.
p. 42, bottom line, for: *fig ht*inf read: — :*fight* inf.
p. 77, l. 5 from above, for than read: — then.
p. 77, ll. 6 and 5 from below, for **siþhw(e)arf* read: — **sīþhw(e)arf*.
p. 77, l. 7 from below, for *-rd* read: — *-ard*.
p. 90, l. 6 from below, for *-rn* read: — *-arn*.
p. 92, l. 15 from below, for OSc *ē, ø* read: — OSc *é, ǽ*.
p. 111, l. 15 from above, for OSc *e* read: — OSc *e* (*ø*).
p. 144, l. 11 from above, for had *ę̆* read: — had *ę̄*.
p. 166, top line, for *i* + *ld* read: — *-ild*.
p. 167, l. 6 from above, for *i* + *nd* read: — *-ind*.

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